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UNIVERSITIES IN ANCIENT INDIA.*

BY RAI SARAT CHANDRA DAS BAHADUR, C. I. E.

IN Ancient India, during the Vedic age, there hardly existed institutions which, in any manner resembled the Universities of modern times. The Rishis of old imparted instruction to one or two private students, in their hermitages, and the pupils used to serve them as so many sons. During the time they remained with their teachers, the pupils got all the necessaries of life (board and residence) gratis, and at the completion of their studies they made (*daksina*) presents according to their means and sometimes after consulting the wishes of their teachers. Kings, princes, and the rich of the land considered it a sacred duty to liberally help a student in his attempt to pay the debt of gratitude to his teacher. There is no record of any instance in which a number of students received instruction from a teacher paying him fees or on the condition of paying remuneration. The Rishis never expected any return from their pupils for imparting instruction which they purely gave out of charity.

This generous spirit in them made their position, in respect of their pupils, most exalted. The tutor became the spiritual father of his pupil, and from the day the latter entered the holy pupilage his second birth is said to have been ensured. The period of this spiritual, moral and intellectual training, under the fostering care of the Guru, generally extended to twice ten years. This was the origin of the twice-born races of India.

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* An address delivered at a Special Meeting of the Sahitya Sabha (Calcutta) which was presided over by Sir Roper Lethbridge, M. A., K. C. I. E.

We are not aware of the existence of such a sublime custom in any other sections of the Aryan family. The necessity of the formation of the mind and character under spiritual tutelage was recognized by the Indian Aryans, in consequence of which, the ceremony of initiating young men in spiritual secrets was observed with the utmost solemnity as the most essential thing in life, for the culture of the soul. This custom has no parallel in the history of any other nation. Baptism which was designed to purify the flesh and the soul and thereby to give a second birth to an individual, for admission into the kingdom of heaven, had no reference to secular or spiritual education. It was ministered even to the infant while the initiation into the ceremony of spiritual birth (*dvijanman*) is observed between the age of eight and thirteen. This institution is, therefore, a heritage of the Indian Aryans that has come down from hoary antiquity and of which they should be justly proud. It was based on the idea that humanity was privileged, by the knowledge of the Brahma (God), to evolve into divine beings.

In the Pauranic age, the system of tutorial teaching of the Rishis developed into academic institutions. Several pupils, both adult and young, learnt the arts and sciences under a *Siksa* Guru (teaching master). The office of the tutor became differentiated by the terms *Siksa* Guru and *Diksa* Guru. The *Diksa* Guru was the spiritual guide who initiated the pupil in the secrets of religion. In the earlier stage both these offices were performed by the Brahmans. So we see, that under the Brahman teachers, Drona and Kripa, the Pandavas and Kauravas had their early secular education. From the former they also got training in archery and in the use of weapons. The sage Dhanvantri taught the healing art, the use of medicines, &c., to a large number of pupils. At that age, service, as we learn from Manu, rendered by a pupil to his tutor was the latter's remuneration—for, demanding of fees from individual pupils or collectively from them all, was still unknown. Coming down to the time of Buddha, we notice the introduction of University education which then became costly. The introduction of open air preaching of the *dharma* (Holy religion) and imparting spiritual training publicly in groves called *arama* where the Buddhist monks then called *Anogarika* resided, under the shelter of trees, were due to the genius of Buddha.

In these *arama* the junior Buddhist monks received both secular and spiritual education from their seniors. These, therefore, were the first and earliest of public schools in India. Later on the *arama* became converted into what were called *vihara, i.e.*, residence of those who had renounced the world. After the death of Buddha, out of veneration for him, his remains were enshrined in tombs called *caitya* चैत्य (from the word *cita* चिता meaning "burning ground.") In the earlier stages a *caitya* was simply a *stupa* or mound of earth generally erected in the *arama*, where a holy personage, generally the teacher of the congregation, had passed his days. In course of time, these *stupa* became converted into monumental tombs, being constructed of masonry and stone. They, afterwards, developed into temples of worship, constructed in various prescribed designs. In later times the construction of a *caitya* (in Tibetan called *chorten*, *i.e.*, worshipping symbol) even in miniature sizes made from moulds, was regarded as a work of great merit. The Emperor Asoka had ordered the construction of 84,000 stone *caitya* in honour of the Buddha. These *caityas* were generally solid structures.

In still later times, they became developed into storeyed temples. In these temples, sacred books were kept. In the lofty nine storeyed temple at Buddha Gaya which was formerly called the Mahagandhola (Gandhalaya) the images of the past Buddhas were enshrined. The nine storeyed temple called Ratnodadhi at Dharmaganja (University) of Nalanda—was the repository of the sacred books of the Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhist Schools. The temple of Odantapuri *vihara* which is said to have been loftier than either of the two* (Buddha Gaya and Nalanda) contained a vast collection of Buddhist and Brahmanical works which, after the manner of the great Alexandrian library, was burnt under the orders of Mahomed Ben Sim, general of Baktyar Khiliji in A. D. 1202.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TAKSA-SHILA.—*(Taxila.)*

During the post-*pauranic* period Taksa-shila was the headquarters of Brahmanical learning but it was also the seat of the

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* It was from the libraries of Nalanda, Odantapuri *vihara* and Vikramashila that the Tibetans made their collection of Indian works from which the vast literature of Tibet has sprung up. The earliest of the universities of which we have any historical information, was that of Taksa-shila (Taxila of Alexander the Great) in Gandhara—Punjab.

Empire of the Gœti of which frequent mention occurs in early Chinese works. There is no doubt that previous to the foundation of the Eastern Greek Empire by Seleucus, the country watered by the rivers *Sita* and *Paksu* (the Oxus and the Jaxartes) anciently called *Kaugsa Desa,* the modern Kashgaria, formed a part of the Empire of the Gœti. For the Chinese, till then had not annexed that country to their Empire.

We also learn from Chinese works that several Buddhist monks, bearing Sanskrit names and hailing from remote Parthia, visited China in early times. Even the Buddhist monks Bharana and Matanga, who first carried Buddhism to China, during the reign of the Han Emperor Mingti, in A.D. 65, were natives of Gandhara, of which the capital was Taksa-shila. Some authors conjecture the Gœti of the Chinese to be the same with the Greek Scythi who were no other than the parent-stock of the Sakya race. On the rise of the Eastern Greek Empire the power of the Gœti waned but Taksa-shila continued to flourish till the first century before Christ, after which little of it was heard. We are told that the great Sanskrit Grammarian Panini and that adept in state-craft Canakya by whose help Chandra Gupta founded the kingdom of Magadha, had their education at Taksa shila. It then possessed a University in which eighteen branches of learning were taught, in separate schools, each of which was presided over by a special professor. There were schools at Taksa-shila for teaching sculpture, painting, image-making and many other handicrafts. It is stated that Atreya Rishi, who had written directions on the art of painting, under inspiration from the divine architect—Visvakarma—was a professor of medicine at Taksa-shila. In the anecdotes of Buddha's historical life, the account of his physician Jivaka, throws some light on the educational system of the time.

The University of Taksa-shila was a Brahmanical institution, pure and simple. Its influence extended to Persia in the West, to Bactria in the North, and Magadha and Prachya to the East. With it the fame of Brahmanical learning had spread far and wide. Professor Satish Chandra, in his work on Buddha, narrates an interesting anecdote of the royal physician Jivaka who had cured both king Bimbisara of Magadha and the great Buddha himself, of some painful diseases. He was born at Rajagriha in South Vihar. Being desirous of studying medicine and also for learning any of the 64 handicrafts he had to proceed to Taksa-shila. On arriving there, he presented himself before Atreya, the Rishi professor of medicine. When the sage inquired what *daksina* (gift) he would make, Jivaka replied, "Venerable Sir, I have travelled thus far from Magadha for the purpose of study. While leaving home I did not mention of my wish to my parents and friends. So I shall not be able to make any present in money, with the exception of myself, which when I have finished my education, will be yours." Pleased with the reply Atreya admitted him. Jivaka studied the healing art and the science of medicine under the sage for seven years. At the final examination he was required to describe the medicinal use of all the vegetables, plants, creepers, grass, roots, &c., that grew within a radius of fifteen miles round the city of Taksa-shila.

After four days' examination of the medical botany of the place, Jivaka submitted the results, informing his professor that there was hardly a single plant which did not posses some medicinal property.

The Sanskrit medical works contained in the Bower Manuscripts, which were unearthed about 15 years ago at Yarkand, and which were deciphered by Dr. Hœrnle and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal show, from their age and nature of the writing used in them called Kashgar-Brahmi character, that they were more the results of the seat of Sanskrit learning of Gandhara than those of Magadha.

SRIDHANYA KATAKA.

During the time of *siddha* Nagarjuna, the great physician and alchemist, who was regarded by the Buddhists as the second Buddha, the University of Sridhanya Kataka, on the bank of Krishna in Vidarbha (modern Amraoti) rose to eminence as the seat of both Brahmanical and Buddhistic learning. Tibetan historians tell us that the great monastery of Dapung near Lhasa which contains 7,700 monks and a University with six colleges, was built after the model of Sridhanya Kataka, of which the description had been preserved at the libraries of Nalanda and Vikrama-shila *vihara.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA.

The second but perhaps the most famous of all Buddhist universities of ancient India was that of Nalanda. It was known all over Magadha by the name of Dharmaganja. Its library, the largest in India, was located in the nine storeyed building called Ratnodadhi. It flourished in the first century B.C., *i.e.*, from the time of Nagarjuna who was one of its early professors to the 8th century A.D., when the great *vihara* of Odantapuri (modern Vihar) which was established in its neighbourhood rose to eminence under the patronage of the Pala kings. Houen-tshang the Chinese Pilgrim who visited Nalanda in the beginning of the seventh century A.D., studied Buddhist Sanskrit literature under its professors and has left an excellent account of it.

ODANTAPURI.

This great *vihara* was founded long before the Pala dynasty came to power in Magadha. On account of the foundation of a city in its neighbourhood, which became the capital of Magadha under the Pala kings and also for the great eminence to which the monastery itself rose, the entire province came to be known by the name of Vihar and the older name Magadha nick-named Mayha by the Brahmans, gradually became forgotten. During the reign of the son of king Mahi Pala who was called Pala the Great, i.e., Maha Pala, there were 1,000 monks of the earlier school of Buddhism called Hinayana and about 5,000 monks of the Mahayana School at Odantapuri. The Pala kings had established a monastic University at Odantapuri with a splendid library of Brahmanical and Buddhistic works which was destroyed at the sack of the monastery and the massacre of its monks by the Mahomedans in A.D. 1202. The great monastery of Sakya, which about that time became the seat of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet, under the patronage of the Tartar Emperors of China, was built after the model of Odantapuri. Sakya followed Odantapuri in the details of monastic discipline and education.

The grand hierarchs of Sakya, who were the constituted patrons of its University, were regarded as incarnations of Manju Sri the Buddhist God of learning.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIKRAMA-SHILA.

On the top of a hill situated on the left bank of the Ganges stood the royal monastery (*Deva vihara*) of Vikrama-shila founded by king Dharma Pala in the middle of the 8th century A.D. All round the central building but at short distances from the *vihara* there were erected 107 temples, and a wall surrounded them all. The king furnished it with fifty religious establishments and founded a University with six colleges and employed one hundred and eight Pandits (professors) to teach them. In the central building called "the House of Science" the monks of the Monastery studied the *Prajna para mita* Scriptures. It was during the reign of king Bhaya Pala that the University was placed under the supervision of six Door or *Dvara* Pandits, and that the sage Jetari had established a *satra* or hostel for supplying food gratis to the pupils at Vikrama-shila.

There were four colleges at the four gates of the Monastery where pupils had free access for the purpose of study, and which were presided over by the *Dvara* Pandits. The two Pandits who taught theology in the central college were called the first and second pillars of the University. For the support of the resident pupils of the four colleges at the four gates but inside the monastery, four *satra* (free board hostels) were established for the maintenance of the scholars. They were endowed by the princes and nobles of the country. In the beginning of the tenth century A.D. a *satra* was added to the *vihara* by one of the sons of king Sanatan of Varendra. That prince had entered the Buddhist holy order and became known by the name of Jetari (the senior). The University successfully worked for four centuries being managed under Royal patronage, by a Board of six members presided over by the High priest. Their decisions were honoured by the Governor of the *vihara*, who was responsible for the moral discipline of the *vihara*.

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SWITZERLAND—II.

WHAT more now remains to be said about Switzerland? Is the country anything more than a playground for tourists, or a heap of raw material for geologists? Without doubt it is; and I will try to do it some justice here also. But I will remind my readers that I do not pretend to do it *complete* justice. These pages confine themselves to impressions, and do not seek to avoid a personal and casual character. If I add a few scraps of knowledge picked out of books, these too are professedly incomplete. They belong to the region of general knowledge, such as all travellers ought to carry about with them, though very few do, (except schoolmasters, who can not help themselves.) Such scraps of knowledge I shall have to produce, in speaking of the Swiss character and history. It is little that the tourist learns at first hand of these, and that little gathers most of its interest from its connection with his earlier reading.

I will not, however, take up the subject of the Swiss character without a few general reflections on the study of national character. It is a favourite study of our own day, and it is closely connected with the study of national origins. Each in fact leads to the other. If we begin with an interest in national character, we shall soon find ourselves seeking to explain or illustrate it by reference to race. If we begin with trying to distinguish the racial elements in a nation, we shall soon find ourselves applying the criterion of character. It is clear there are many chances here of false arguments and false conclusions. The subject is intricate, so much so that only the last few years have shown us how little we can deal with it. Perhaps indeed the most substantial fact we have learned is the complexity of races and nations, both in origin and character, and the fallibility of language as a guide in investigating either. On the question of heredity we have at present no certain light at all. This does not mean that there are no such things as racial characteristics, but it means that at present we must explore them with great caution and refrain from explaining them.

Switzerland then, as we know it and see it marked on the maps to-day, is a modern institution. It owes its existence to the Congress of Vienna. At that gathering the limits of Switzerland were fixed and the present cantons were recognised. But I do not gather that the union of these cantons was equally desired by the whole population of Switzerland. It was not quite a union on equal terms, of States with a common and equally glorious history. The true Switzerland of history and romance is the Forest Cantons of the North, among which the best known are Bern and Zyurich, though Schwytz possesses the name which is associated with all. It is this little district which rose to eminence and made itself a nation among the nations of Europe. What happened there is pretty well known. The Feudal system grew up there, as it did elsewhere in Europe; feudal lords, bishops and counts, established their powers, if not as securely, much on the same lines as anywhere else. The Forest Cantons came to terms with the Counts of Hapsburg, and lived for at least a century under their protection. As far as one can see, if things had been a little different, this relation might have lasted; and the Forest Cantons might have been part of the Austrian empire to this day. Events, however, took another turn. As the counts of Hapsburg grew more and more powerful, they allowed the Swiss less and less freedom; and in the end they lost their subjects altogether. The Swiss took up arms; for three generations they continued a glorious struggle, and after grievous losses the House of Austria retired for ever from the field. Among the battles of that epoch were Morgarten and Sempach, names of great significance in the history of Europe. We do not quite realise that significance if we view in these battles a struggle between hostile nations. There was hardly such a thing as national feeling involved. Those who fought on each side spoke the same language, followed the same religion, and differed by no clear distinction of birth; but they represented different classes and social systems. On the one side were mail-clad knights, the champions of irresponsible hereditary power, on the other peasants and burghers asserting the principle of local freedom. In the event, the former principle triumphed in Austria, the latter in Switzerland.

This result we impute to the Swiss character and to the natural conditions of Switzerland. It is possible that we lay too much weight on the latter. It seems naturally difficult for invaders to penetrate mountains. But Switzerland is not quite so unapproachable. The outskirts of the country are open; and it is quite easy to occupy the principal vallies. The land here is very fertile, and all through the Middle ages was a great temptation to aggressive powers,—to Austria, Burgundy, and France. The Swiss had work enough to defend themselves; and their persevering bravery forms one of the finest chapters in national history. After Austria ceased to trouble them, Charles the Bold renewed the attack, and the Forest Cantons had a chance to become vassals of Burgundy. How they acquitted themselves is written in the story of the three great battles, Grandson, Morat and Nancy. Here we have no longer a struggle of social orders. There cannot have been in Charles' mind any notion of changing the tenor of Swiss life. It must have been firmly settled. Very likely, indeed, he would have made a good master; but they preferred their freedom.

I have said the Swiss earned their freedom well; in one point this is particularly true, in the spirit of fraternal union which animated their councils. They made common cause in the battlefield, and in song and legend they divided fairly the credit of their valiant deeds. How beautifully this appears in the story of the famous oath, and the Tell legend, which if not true, as the proverb says, is excellently well-devised. Would that the Italian cities, when their opportunity came, had shown some such capacity for concord! Their story would not be, as it is now, a thousand times dyed with the guilt of ferocious crime.

The later history of Switzerland is not quite so attractive. The Swiss soldiers turned their reputation to good account; and went off to serve for pay all over Europe. One need not much complain of this; but it is disappointing to find the Forest Cantons making their own aggressive wars, conquering the Pays de Vaud, which is really French; and the Val Ticino, which belongs to Italy. They did not support the principle of local freedom so far as to extend it outside their own frontiers; and were not very willing to admit to their confederacy other States that had fought for their freedom or were struggling to secure it. However, some such States were admitted into the circle, by degrees; but the Confederacy fell on evil days. Napoleon rudely trampled on it, and to cut a long story short, the roll of cantons was finally made up by foreign authorities at the Congress of Vienna. I suppose the plenipotentiaries there kept a double object in view; to satisfy a popular preference for belonging to Switzerland, and to decide certain questions of debateable land, which might have set European wars afoot.

But, as I have said, I do not know how far the people of Switzerland either then were—or now are—possessed by a common national sentiment. To decide this one would have to know the country in a way that is beyond the tourist. What one does learn from a visit to Switzerland is the variety of its component districts; and this fact suggests many reflections on the idea of nationality. I should like to know how a nation is to be defined. If we take for our criterion the fact of unity under a central government, we can give a clear meaning to the word, but it ceases to be interesting. There is a general feeling that nationality implies more than this, that a nation is as it were an organism, possessing a sort of sacred right to exist. There is something very attractive about this idea, but unfortunately, when we have put the definition together, we shall find there are no nations corresponding to it. We may say, if we please, that a nation is a body of men united by common descent, by language, by community of faith or views on political and social organisation,—but in practice there is no nation so united. We may of course find particular epochs, like that of the Swiss wars of Independence, when such a kind or degree of unity existed; and this is the ideal which floats before our eyes when we urge the rights of nations. But it remains an ideal. In practice we cannot get much beyond the position that a nation is a body of men who choose to be politically independent and to fight for their independence. On the question who have the right to make themselves independent, we must be governed by the logic of facts, as we are. We are not willing to see old nations interfered with, however they arose. Moreover, we accept the commonplace consideration, that natural barriers make convenient political frontiers. These principles, however, do not guide us when new situations arise. Had the Confederate States a right to secede from the North? Have the Slaavs and the Teutons of Europe to-day a right to form Pan-Slavonic and Pan Germanic schemes?

I will not say, but I will point out that the sanctity of nationality, as a principle, is an idea of much the same order as the divine right of kings. This idea was really a retort to the claims of the Papacy; it was a means of securing on the spiritual side of political system—monarchy—which had been found in most European countries the best avenue of escape from the anarchy of feudalism. So, too, we have found in modern Europe that society needs some safeguard against wars of aggression. It has found this safeguard in the principle of nationality; and to secure this principle it has invested it with a sacred claim. This claim is scarcely founded on anything in the origin of modern States or in their present condition. They arose under varying conditions, out of varying elements; and their distribution in the present day does not satisfy any principle of division. Much less can it be said that in any case they are thoroughly homogeneous. But after all they exist; their existence has minimised war and the evils of war, and it marks off spheres of activity and lines of development. If European sentiment revolts against this principle of nationality, as someday it may, the reconstitution of political life will be a long and momentous task.

The Swiss in the narrow sense, the Swiss of the Forest Cantons seem to be chiefly Teutons. The oldest legends about the country show us two races contending there, the Celtic Helvetii and the Teutonic Rhaetii. In later times there were Teutonic and also barbarian invaders, Huns and others from Central Asia. I do not know how much of this alien blood is left. The peasant of to-day is generally the light-haired blue-eyed Teuton, but this is not the only type one sees. Glimpses of national character are not readily perceived by the tourist; but some things that struck me I will put down. It must be remembered that the Swiss character has been exposed in these last fifty years to a severe trial. This does not mean a trial of adversity; perhaps the trials of adversity are the least dangerous for men and nations. It has been a trial of prosperity. The last fifty years have seen an ever-growing tide of visitors poured into Switzerland. These visitors have left behind them a great deal of money, and this fact alone means that a great deal of temptation has been laid in the way of the Swiss. Their visitors, being foreigners, have always been open to deceit; and the Swiss have been tempted not only to spend their gains foolishly but to swell them dishonestly. To go a little deeper, the mere number of foreigners has tended to dissipate all sentiment towards them, and even the culture they have brought has tended to introduce pose and affectation among the natives.

Now all this being duly weighed, it appears to me quite astonishing how well the Swiss character has passed the ordeal. In pecuniary dealings of all kinds the stranger is treated with perfect honesty. What is more, he gets excellent value for his money. If he is the merest tourist he gets this. If he tries to be a little more, he will find people of all classes respond to his overtures. They will help him out with his German, appreciate his questions, and do their best to answer them. Even to-day, and in Lucerne, the very centre of the tourist traffic, this sentiment of courtesy exists.

It is truly descended from the old Swiss spirit. Nothing pleases one better in Switzerland than the traces of this old national character. You can find them in the Swiss museums, especially, I will say, at Zurich, where all the Switzerland of the past is displayed before your eyes. Among the relics collected for this purpose there are some of particular interest, the old-fashioned stoves. These are tall and square, reaching to the ceilings of the rooms; and they are covered with tiles, representing in numerous little squares scenes from Swiss history, together with many pious maxims in verse and jingling prose. What a delight these stoves must have been to generations of children; and at the same time what a genuine education! Here they could see the great battles of old, from Morgarten to Nancy; all telling the same tale and pointing the same moral; the mace and the halberd lifted against the coat of mail; Arnold embracing the Austrian spears; and many a stout burger with grave inflexible determination bearing down his knightly foe. Here they could read the names of all the cantons, duly chronicled, and honoured with impartial praise. Yet that praise speaks of no pleasure in war; the picture of Sempach bears the inscription *Pax Optima Rerum*—Peace is the best of all things. There is a touch of pride in *Non arma sed artus*—not arms but limbs; not quite a false antithesis when one contrasts the bare muscles of the peasants with the steel plates of their opponents. But in general these inscriptions on the old stoves are pithy recommendations to practice piety and commonplace virtue. Especially they praise and honour industry:—

Das ehbar hangt dem nutzen an,
Keins mann von andren scheiden kann;
Denn nutzlich ist zu keinen frist
Das nit auch recht und ehbsr ist.

"Honour belongs to what is useful; no one can separate the two; for there is nothing useful that is not also right and honourable."

I will not say that we can infer whether a nation possesses certain virtues from the fact that its writers praise those virtues in prose or verse. I have sometimes thought that the argument tends the other way. It sometimes looks as though writers overlooked the virtues that were common, to praise and encourage those that were neglected. In the middle ages, for instance, preachers are generally found dwelling on the Christian graces; in all probability because there was not enough mercy or charity abroad. One cannot say. At any rate the literary evidence shows in what respects the conscience of the time was awake; and if all the evidence together points to activity and progress we may suppose the virtues set down in the national code to have really flourished. In a period of general decline people go on preaching virtue without practising it.

I take it that in this way we may set some value on the old Swiss rhymes. If is wonderful what a deal of good sense they sometimes get into a few words; and how many cunning jingles of sound they bring together. *In sole et sale omnia*—there is everything in sun and salt! or witness these lines on a clothes chest "Um erden ist kein schöner kleid Dann Gottes furcht und frommekeit." "On earth there is no fairer clothing than the fear of God and piety." What a patriarchal rebuke to vanity! All the apparatus of old Swiss life as seen in the museums suggests a sober republican style. There is no display of luxury—except in two directions. The first is the stained glass windows, of which Zurich has an unrivalled collection, taken from churches and mansions. The second, also illustrated at Zurich is carved wood-work for the interior of houses. Several rooms have been preserved in the Museum, dating from the Renaissance, where floor, walls and ceilings are all executed in wood. These splendid apartments are the chief artistic glory of Switzerland. The breadth of design, the colour and grain of the wood, make up a most impressive scene. Yet somehow the effect is not in keeping with Swiss life as seen elsewhere, and I suspect foreigners had something to do with these creations.

The national taste for moral verses often appears in legends on the walls of houses. The houses may be new, but the verses and the sentiments are no doubt old enough. I have copied out a quatrain, which runs as follows:—

> " Des Hauses Schmuck ist Reinlichkeit.
> Des Hauses Gluck Zufriedentreit.
> Des Hauses Lob Gastfreundlichkeit
> Des Hauses Hegen Frommigkeit."

" A house's grace is purity; a house's prosperity is contentment; a house's praise is hospitality; a house's protection is piety."

When we have traced in these memorials the old Swiss character we may find it at least in some respects still unchanged to-day. Of course there are points of which the tourist learns nothing. I cannot say much about the religious life of the country. It has probably followed the same course of development as religious life elsewhere in Europe. Switzerland lies on the border between the provinces of Rome and the Reformed Church. Some cantons followed the one and some the other side; it is difficult to see what determined the result. Anyhow it did not follow a line of racial division, for some of the Catholic cantons are German. The struggle that was once so fierce has now died out; not only do the two Churches live at peace, but even mixed populations of both have grown up, whereas in earlier days peace was only attained by banishing the creed of the minority. The Protestant visiting the country is naturally struck by the rites and customs of the Catholic vallies. Every village has at least one crucifix in its centre, on which are nailed wooden hands and legs and various implements of domestic or agricultural toil. These are memorials of some cure or some piece of prosperity vouchsafed in answer to a prayer or vow, while underneath is probably a set of verses. Along the path from Saas Fee to the valley are fifteen little shrines, containing plaster figures representing incidents in the life of Christ. These were built forty years ago, by a lady who fell into the glacier stream and was rescued. As she omitted to provide funds for their repair, they are all falling to pieces, like things of the same kind in India. Another shrine marks the spot where a guide met with a fatal accident.

The ritual of the Catholic church embraces many processions; and at the appointed times the villagers, men and women, march along the road to Church, with hymns and banners displayed. But everything is very quiet—at least in the German cantons. The people do not share the Italian love of splendour.

Seeing that the German substratum is the same both in the Protestant and some of the Catholic cantons we seem to have a good opportunity here of observing the effects of the two systems on human character. Perhaps residence in the country might lead one to some points of comparison; but they are not visible to the tourist. One thing is clear, that the Protestant parts of Switzerland, which include Berne and Zurich, have been the most active and successful. But very likely it is a mistake to look for the characteristic features of either system where the field is so small and each system is modified by competition with the other. Such competition, within due limits, tends to elevate each side, and keeps it clear of its own faults. The Catholic Church in England, sobered and restrained by the Protestant majority, is a different thing from the Catholic Church triumphant in Spain or Italy.

But dismissing religion and returning to our topic of the Swiss character, still unfinished, I have many more things to say in praise of it. I have said before that the Swiss are honest, and they are by no means grasping. From this compliment I must except the people of French Switzerland, who in this point resemble the *grande nation* itself. I speak from experience of Chamonix, and from stories of the same place. M. Vallon, when he offered to build an observatory on Mt. Blanc, had a struggle to get permission on any terms from the commune; they thought he really wanted to start a mountain hotel. The same careful people refused to make a road up the valley for many years, as they were interested in mules; but the railway has now disposed of this question. I myself remember in this connection the old woman who mended my coat there. We had a long conversation; she observed how rich the English were—*tant mieux pour nous*—so much the better for us! and she did not forget it when I asked how much I owed her. But what I have said of Chamonix I will not say of the rest of Switzerland.

French Switzerland, however, is not behind in industry or practical skill. As for industry, I never saw a beggar in Switzerland, (though I did at Chamonix); I doubt if the whole country possesses one. It is true there was a blind man at Saas Fee, but even he played on an organ. Every resource of Switzerland is utilised. Though the country has no coal or navigable rivers, it has a great manufacturing centre in Zurich, and Geneva makes more watches than any other place in the world. Every old traditional craft is made the most of—wood-carving, pottery, and lace-making; while the scenery is exploited in a manner which, from this point of view, is admirable. Of Swiss practical skill their railways and their towns are sufficient evidence. They are perfectly organised; safe, comfortable, clean, and handsome, and all this without the tedious rules and formalities which encumber the civil life of France. As for education I can only say that the outsides of schools and colleges are visible everywhere. At Zurich is the Pestalozzianum, an educational museum, which commemorates the name of Pestalozzi. It is an excellent institution, but so are all the Swiss museums, and they deserve an attention which the tourist rarely bestows on them.

But now let us suppose the reader to be a prospective tourist and to ask my advice how he should spend a holiday in Switzerland; what should I say to him? In the first place, go there in June, and leave the country before August. In that month the civilised and uncivilised world stream into Switzerland by scores of thousands, and there is no comfort or peace of mind possible anywhere. And visit the low-lying places—like Geneva or Zurich—before the weather grows hot, for in that season the genius of the Indian skies pays a visit to Switzerland. Do not, however, omit the towns; admire their handsome buildings, their gardens and promenades, their excellent public arrangements, and see if you can imagine a more fascinating spot than Interlaken.

Then if you want a centre where there is most to be seen without climbing, try Grindelwald. I stayed myself at Saas Fee for three weeks and at Pontresina, but recommend Grindelwald above these. At Pontresina you have perhaps the most comprehensive view in Switzerland, from the Muottas Murail, which commands the famous Engadine valley. You see the chain of lakes receding along it, flanked by massive mountains; and in another quarter you have the snows and precipices of Piz Bernina. It is one of the most notable views in Europe; but poor in vegatation; there is nothing visible but pines, and most of the pines are suffering from the attacks of a luxuriant lichen, which seems destined to kill them off.

But no visitor to Switzerland should fail to go climbing, so far as his purse and his powers permit. There is no great reason to be afraid, if you are careful and can trust yourself. You must have good legs, a steady head and power to concentrate your attention on what you are doing. These qualities alone will not make you a gymnast on rock or snow, but they will enable you to see the higher Alps, and to enjoy a little the pleasures of the climber. What these are, experience will soon show you. They are something like the pleasures of the soldier, or rather of the true sportsman; the pleasures of a friendly conflict. The mountain is your enemy; step by step you must wrestle with him, calling in the aid of strategy, discerning his weak points, and overcoming him at critical moments by sudden exertions of your strength. As for danger you have always the consciousness that there is some around you, but it rests with you to make yourself safe. A few accidents man can scarcely guard against, bad weather, and unexpected falls of rock; but with due care, measuring all your movements, there is nothing fool-hardy about mountain climbing. It is true there are now hundreds of accidents in the Alps every year, but if their sources be analysed folly and rash adventures will be found to account for most of them.

Danger of course is minimised by taking guides, and this is the place to say a word of these people. I am not inclined, on the whole, to make it a very favourable word. There are no doubt exceedingly good guides, whose skill and courage and personal devotion surpass all praise. But there are also many bad guides, in whose company a stranger must look out for himself. The inexperienced tourist is likely to be victimised by them, for the really good men are monopolised by regular visitors to Switzerland, who pass them on to each other. Of course all guides are supervised and registered, but this does not mean that they are all equally trustworthy. Nor are they all equally agreeable companions; many of them being selfish and greedy. It is in fact quite a sight of the country to witness a guide eating butter at your expense; you would suppose he had been brought up to live on nothing else. In middle life many of them take to the bottle, with the usual consequences, and on the whole the younger members of the fraternity are most satisfactory. Your best plan, when you want a guide, is to pick out a promising physiognomy, accompanied by a broad pair of shoulders and a set of bushy whiskers. You will probably find these among the various types parading the market place, for guides, like the young beauties of Babylon, generally lounge about there waiting for offers. Then you arrange your expedition, the fee being laid down in the official tariff. It is not a small one, though not too high in my opinion, considering the work involved, and the risk to the guide, if he happens to be a good guide and his client a bad mountaineer.[*] Your arrangements being complete, you set off together, probably in the evening, and ascend to a convenient halting place on the mountain side. Here you will find either a small (and very expensive) hotel ; or a hut provided by one of the Alpine clubs. The latter is far more like the real thing ; you feel you have left the conventional world behind when you cook your own dinner at the stove and sleep on the piles of straw. About 3 a. m. you rise and continue to ascend ; day gradually dawns and about 8 o'clock, (speaking generally) you find yourself on the summit. The air is thin and keen ; the silence wonderful ; and with eager senses you make the most of every precious minute you have to spend there. They are few in number, for the midday sun melts the snow and loosens the stones and increases the dangers of the descent. The guide is sure to hurry you off, and you drop down into the valley again. Of course I am here describing a fine weather ascent ; things are very different when bad weather comes on, frost that stiffens your clothes and wind that threatens to blow you off the side of the mountain. However, if you should complain of this, the mountaineer would reply with Ulysses in the poem :—

Natures of the noblest frame
This toils and dangers please,
And they take comfort in the same
As much as you in ease.

Then again, if you really want to see Switzerland, you must walk. You must buy yourself a "Ruksak", or "Back-bag", a comfortable contrivance of the Germans, put into it what you think proper and set off on foot. You may go anywhere you like ; and enjoy yourself everywhere—at least, as long as you have fine weather. I must admit here a drawback to Switzerland, you have to put up with a good deal of rain. I remember, in the hotel book at Valtournanche, an amusing little sketch of two pedestrians drenched from head to foot, accompanied by the following verses with which the poor wretches had consoled themselves :—

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[*] The Guide's fee for Mt. Blanc is 100 francs (=Rs. 67), and the total expense of the excursion (for one person) is about Rs. 300.

> Voici deux alpinistes sans trés grandes pretentions
> Qui auraient bien voulu de faire des ascensions ;
> De Genf ils sont venues ; arrivérent jusqu' á Breuil,
> Mais de leurs ascensions ils durent en faire le deuil.
> Et oiu, c'est désolant ! pourtant rien ne leur manquait,
> Ils avaient sae et gourde et même des piolets,
> Mais quand c'est l'ami Pluvius qui fait valoir ses droits,
> Adieu tous les projets ; il faut rentrer chez soi.

Well, if it rains, you must wait till it clears up again ; and as long as it is fine, you can travel on your way. One walk I took pursued the following route :—Pontresina ; Maloja ; Cresta ; Avera Thal ; Hinterrhein ; the Rheinwald-horn ; Vals ; Ilanz. I could not have invented it myself ; I owe it to a companion I met at Maloja, a devotee of the Alps, who possessed the secret of escaping from "the beaten track." He took me up the Rheinwald-horn and down the Lentalucke into the valley beyond it, which we followed from beginning to end. The beginning was a most savage spot, an amphitheatre of precipitous rocks, with glaciers couched on high like lions ready to spring, and a chaos of rock and ice below. Then mile after mile it expanded, growing sunny and grean, till it opened on the Rhine at Ilanz. This was altogether a most delightful and typical walk ; and showed me a corner of Switzerland where there are still the old hard conditions of Swiss life, and the rude, but rudely courteous peasantry of the past.

"The Past" ! "The very word is like a knell" ! For after all one cannot leave Switzerland, nor can I leave the subject without reflecting how strangely the country has changed, and considering what its future is to be. One hundred years ago Switzerland outside the big towns was one of the most secluded parts of the world. Human life in the higher Alps just struggled to maintain itself, and remained as isolated from the community of Europe as that of Greenland or Tierra del Fuego. Then came Rousseau and Byron ; and in their wake the stream of tourists in search of the picturesque. Later on came the mountaineers ;

in 1857 the English Alpine Club was founded. The early generation of visitors to Switzerland were mostly English ; and mostly people of some position or culture. The pastime of mountaineering in its early days attracted intellectual men of all kinds ; judges (Wills), bishops (Wordsworth), men of letters (L. Stephen) and science (Tyndall), were all amongst the pioneers on the higher Alps. Those were the great days of mountaineering, when the virgin peaks were falling one after another, the lawful prize of the hardy and original climber.

Now all is changed. Switzerland is flooded with a cosmopolitan crowd,—chiefly German—that numbers 400,000 invaders a year. Whatever country they come from, they almost all belong unmistakeably to the bourgeois class, who possess no doubt many commonplace virtues, but not the charms of rank or culture. Not one in a thousand knows anything of the history of the country, and though a larger number could tell you that mountains are supposed to be ennobling influences, there is not a larger number who feel them as such. Indeed, it is hard to feel anything about mountains in Switzerland, for wherever you turn your eyes in a Swiss hotel, you are sure to encounter some crazy piece of rhetoric about scenery, printed and published by the Swiss Hotel Proprietors' League. Meanwhile railways have been run up all the mountains and hotels frequently planted on the tops of them. The country has become an overcrowded playground.

Of course there is still much left to enjoy in it, especially if you go, as I have said, in June. Some day perhaps things may change again. I do not believe the present rush to the country will continue ; the people who go there now will some day discover that they are not enjoying themselves as much as they thought ; and they will go and do something else. Then the Swiss will turn to something else too ; and the Muses may cautiously creep back to the land. But that will not be in our time.

J. NELSON FRASER.

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JUDAISM AND ART.

THE relation of Art to Judaism is a subject that has often been discussed, though not always with satisfactory results. Does Mosaism prohibit the cultivation of the plastic and pictorial arts, as is so generally supposed and commonly asserted? The Second Commandment is appealed to as deciding the question in the sense that the practice of the formative arts was strictly forbidden. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them." Such was the wording of the Second Commandment. Was then the Commandment intended to prohibit every imitation of natural forms? Surely not. If that be its meaning then both the Tabernacle and the Temple were erected in direct defiance of it, for both of these sanctuaries contained plastic and pictorial representations of objects in nature. What were the two golden Cherubim placed with their outspread wings above the Mercy Seat but graven images? It is not conceivable that Moses would have commanded their introduction into the Holy of Holies, if the tablets of stone that reposed in the Art beneath forbade such figures. As inconceivable as that Moses should have made a brazen serpent for the Israelites to look upon, if by so doing he was violating the spirit of the Decalogue. The golden candlestick was, adorned with knops of flowers, and the high-priest's robe was embroidered with a representation of pomegranates. Therefore, not only were the formative arts not prohibited, but even the religious use of them was encouraged. And in the Temple of Solomon, as well as in the Second Temple, much of the artistic embellishment took the form of graven images. There was, besides the Cherubim over the Ark, the Molten Sea in the Temple Court, which rested on twelve cast oxen, and was further adorned with figures of Cherubim, lions and flowers. And the rich carving on the walls of the interior, the doors, and the pillars was similarly embellished with lily-work, pomegranates, and other plastic figures. Yet neither the Temple nor the Tabernacle was ever regarded by the

Israelites as being at variance with the sprit of the Mosaic Law or the teaching of the Decalogue. Hence the Second Commandment must be interpreted in the light of the subsequent Chapters of Exodus. Whatever it forbids, it cannot possibly forbid what Moses himself commanded, and in obedience to the same Divine dictates that gave Israel the Sinaitic Revelation, "Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them" was the essence of the Commandment. The Israelites were forbidden to engrave idolatrous images, to depict material forms for the purpose of idolatrous worship. As various commentators have explained, the verses of the Second Commandment belong to one another, and must be interpreted together as signifying: Thou shalt have but one God, thou shalt not fashion to thyself any natural object of divine adoration. For the God of Israel is a spirit, one and invisible, without shape or simititude. He cannot be embodied in material forms, no product of the human imagination can portray his attributes.

Still it is unquestionably true that in post-Biblical times, there grew up in the Jewish consciousness a feeling that condemned all representations of natural objects as being opposed to the Mosaic Law. Josephus says explicitly: "Our Law forbids us the very making of images;" and although his assertion invests the words of the Decalogue with a meaning that they were not intended to convey, it reflects the opinions of his age. It is a historical fact, as he records, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem objected to the admission into their city of the image of the Roman Emperor depicted on the ensigns of the soldiers; and it is also a fact that, by a decree of the *Sanhedrin*, a temple of the Tetrach Herod at Tiberias was burnt down for no other reason than that it was ornamented with the figures of animals. Doubtless there were strong and sufficient reasons for this condemnation of all imagery. In ancient Greece, with whose civilization the Jews had been brought into close contact after the downfall of the Persian power, the cultivation of the plastic and pictorial arts had come to be identified with Paganism in its grossest forms. The Hebrew, with his pure conception of monotheism, found himself at war with almost everything that Hellenic art represented. And as the antagonism between Hebraism and Hellenism grew more strenuous, so the opposition to the formative arts increased, and the imitation of all natural forms came to be regarded by many Jews as a violation of the Second Commandment, notwithstanding that the Talmud permitted images of animals to be used as ornaments; while the remains of Jewish courage that have come down to us indicate that the art of engraving figures could not have been altogether disapproved of even in Maccabacan and Talmudical times. At various periods of Jewish history both sculpture and fainting have been pressed into the service of religion to a far larger extent than is usually supposed. In many an old synagogue in Europe and in the East, mural paintings are to be found. In the medieval synagogue of Toledo, now converted into a church, sculptured dados survive. And the pictured illumination of Jewish Bibles and devotional books was a branch of art which Jews never hesitated to cultivate in the Middle Ages (*Vide* Graetz's *History of the Jews*, or the *Jewish Cyclopædia*). Indeed Jewish Ecclesiastical Art includes several objects used in Jewish ritual which are embellished with the representation of natural forms. If, then, Judaism has seen fit, at various times, to employ the products of Art in the service of Religion, it follows that, according to Jewish ideas, there must be a legitimate use of Art in the stimulation of religious feeling. What is this use? What is the relation of Art to Religion, as Jews understand Religion? Art may be appropriately employed as the hand-maiden of Religion. Physical beauty may be used to suggest ideas of moral duty, to symbolise certain religious truths. Both the Tabernacle in the Wilderness and the Temple at Jerusalem were rich in symbolical suggestion. There is, however, the danger to be guarded against that the spiritual truths thus taught may, in the course of time, be forgotten, and the symbols themselves come to be worshipped as realities. Judiaism has always been quick to realise this danger, the alarm it has taken, driving it, at times, to the opposite extreme of discouraging Art altogether. Art may also legitimately be used to adorn religion, "for glory and for beauty," as the Bible describes the purpose of priestly robes. While we decorate our own homes with all that is beautiful, we shall not be satisfied to conduct public worship within mean walls. The love we cherish for God's house will seek to express itself in a becoming adornment of ecclesiastical architecture, in gracious harmonies of form and colour and music, which shall insensibly touch the artistic side of our nature, and wake into consciousness our latent idealism. We need sweetness and light to create about us a devotional atmosphere. Soul and body are mysteriously woven together, and the soul may often be reached through the avenue of the bodily senses. The Chapters in Exodus are absolutely devoid of significance if they are not meant to convey to us the lesson that the eye and ear may become the media of impressions that shall awaken the subtler senses of the soul, attuning them to respond to the influences streaming upon us from the unseen. But again there is the danger attending the devotional use of Art that we may mistake a mere stimulation of our æsthetic sensibilities for sincere religious feeling. To avoid falling into this error, we must make our religion a practical one ; it must issue in deeds of self-sacrifice. We must set our faces against the notion that Art can ever be an end unto itself. That was the well-known Greek idea, the idea set forth in the well-known lines of Keats :—

> " Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty, that is all
> We know, and that is all we need to know."

But we need to know much more. Judaism, with its strong Puritanical instincts, is a living protest against the pernicious doctrine of the autocracy of Art. Judaism regards truth as of higher importance than the form in which it expresses itself. It sets action before feeling, and moral rectitude above æsthetic sensibility. If not entirely, yet in some of its main aspects, the attitude of Judasim to Art may be more fittingly expressed in the words of another modern poet, Browning, whose writings reflect much of Hebraic influence :—

> " I slept, and dreamt that life was Beauty ;
> I woke, and found that life was Duty."

Calcutta. J. S. EZRA.

SULTAN ABDUL HAMID AND THE YOUNG TURKEY PARTY.

THE Young Turk—which means, the liberal Turk—has always exercised a fascination over me. One is so disgustfully familiar with the suicidal conservatism of the East that anything that is in contrast—and for the matter of that, radical contrast—with this conservatism comes as a most pleasant surprise. And to fall in love with this contrast, to associate oneself in sympathy with it is but natural, specially to an oriental. When Japan is receiving so much praise, surely it should be possible to find a word of approbation and encouragement for those who are less fortunately placed than the regenerators of Japan but who are working for the same end and struggling towards the same goal.

It is with a view to arousing interest in this band of patriots in a down-trodden, mal-administered and excessively oppressed land that these lines are written; for the Indian public—the Indian Mohamedan public, to which naturally the question is of any interest—has come to have strangely wrong notions about Turkey, by constantly, and, as I think, purposely placing before itself only one side of the picture. The accident of the Kaliphate being in the possession of the house of Ottoman, has so invested the present sovereign of the Osmanlis with a halo of religious sanctity and veneration that a dispassionate study of his motives and actions is entirely out of question by the average Mohamedan. He pursudes himself into the belief, in spite of all facts, that Sultan Abdul Hamid II has brought his administration to a high pitch of efficiency; not only this but that remarkably little room is left for improvement. To make this belief stronger, and perhaps because of this general belief that has taken possession of the Mohamedan mind, there has sprung up a literature, periodical and permanent which insists on presenting Turkish affairs in roseate hues. The *Watan*, the *Vakil*, and many other vernacular papers of that type, are incessantly harping on the great strides made by the Turkish Empire under the progressive regime of the present Sultan. I have no quarrel with them nor with the object of their adulation; for I shall admit that the force of events and the spirit of the times have brought in their train some progress, some improvement, but how little that *some* is, will be painfully apparent to those of our learned Editors who would care to come and see for themselves the condition of this benighted land.

The pressure—by no means disinterested—constantly brought to bear upon the Sultan by the concert of Europe, and the rabid vituperative writings of an increasing section of the English and Continental Press have indirectly done a distinct service to Abdul Hamid. The abuse showered on his head has brought the conviction home to the Mohamedan mind that it is religious bias—and certainly it is—that actuates this systematic denunication of the one moslem sovereign who occupies the foremost position in the few moslem monarchies left in the world to-day. And the whole Mohamedan world has ranged itself in sympathy on the side of the victim of this organised abuse.

And Abdul Hamid, conscious of the phalanx of the sympathy of the whole Islam behind him, goes unchecked in his career. He holds sway over many a nationality—Jew and Christian and Armenian—but none is so badly off as the community that profess his own religion. The paradox is a fact. The watchful eye of Europe penetrates into the remotest corner of the Empire to find how the non-Mohamedan element of Turkish subjects is faring; as to the Mohamedan element, it simply does not see it. It is here, that the Mohamedan whom a not unkindly fate has put beyond the reach of the political sceptre of his Pontiff can be of immense service to his co-religionist living not only within reach but under the rod of the "Shadow of God."

Does the Indian Mohamedan know, or does he not that the professor of his religion in Turkey and Arabia is labouring under disabilities that would well nigh be unbearable even to him? Is he aware of the fact that the entire youth and manhood of the nation is ruthlessly snatched from its homes and vocations in the name of the service for the State, and not *properly* trained for the military service for which it is professedly taken, but utilised to swell the retinue and the domestic establishment of unscrupulous, corrupt and luxurious Pashas? I refer to the abuse—unadulterated abuse—of that fine system of conscription, which, if properly carried out, would give to Turkey an army that would be at once the fear and the admiration of the world.

And has the Musalman in India heard that in matters of religion, the Turk and Arab is ruled by a stupid ecclesiastical heirarchy, which refuses to allow the smallest freedom of conscience? And are the educational hardships and absurdities of which the Musalman subjects of the Lord of the Ottomans are victims, known to the Indian Mohamedan? The hardship lies in the utterly incomprehensible and hostile attitude of the State which allows the Jews and Christians to a great extent, a free hand in the matter of their education, but refuses to give any scope to national initiative to Mohamedans.

All these and many other things are evidently not known to him, or he—our average Indian Musalman—would be a little less effusive in his praises of the Sultan whom by his excessive admiration he is making every day more deaf to the counsel of reform and liberty.

Some one will say that you may accuse the Sultan of anything, but you cannot charge him with being averse to experiment in Government; he is reforming enough. In a sense, yes, he is. He is the first Sultan who is pre-eminently disposed to be 'cute so far as his own personal financial matters are concerned. He does not indulge in the ludicrous extravagance for which the Oriental Potentates are proverbial. His Court, I must concede, does not imitate the foolish freaks of the Sherefean Court at Fez or that of the Shah at Tehran. But there his reform ends. In all other respects, he typifies an autocrat of old Egyptain or Assyrian days. In fact, all the defects of an unbridled, unheeding sovereign are accentuated in him. It will be, I fancy, news to many readers that the Osmanli enjoyed much more freedom under his former grim warrior Sultans than under the present astute, peaceable looking Abdul Hamid. It is he who has made such systematic and alas! successful attempts to concentrate all power in himself. That great master of centralisation in government, Aurangzeb, would be a mere tyro before this Sultan.

Turkey was fortunate enough in her declining days to produce a real reformer and regenerator of the type of Mahmood II who not only arrested the downward course of his Empire, but created a distinct upward impulse in it. He was succeeded by indifferent but not harmful sovereigns, till Abdul Aziz came to undo all the good work of his immediate predecessors. We will not count Murad here, as his luckless reign was of too short a duration to influence the destiny of the Empire one way or the other. But fate, inscrutable fate, dragged the recluse Prince Hamid from his closet and seated him on the Imperial Ottoman throne—with what result we can all see.

To be fair to him, it must be said that he succeeded to a most shaky and unstable throne, and that it is due to his astuteness that the throne is, as compared with before, more consolidated to-day. But this stability has been achieved at the cost of every element of vigour and independence in the nation. The will of the people has been crushed, the sturdy hand of the nation that at a moment of supreme crisis showed itself capable of dethroning Abdul Aziz has been paralysed, the *vox populi* that was a restraining influence even in Turkey has been hushed;—but what of that? the Sovereign's place on the throne has been made more secure.

But the greatest indictment that I lay at the door of Abdul Hamid is his effort to exterminate the Young Turkey Party. This party contained all that was the best and the most hopeful in the land, and any other sovereign who was not bent upon having no other mind but his own in the land would have sedulously encouraged and developed it. But at the hands of the present Sultan it received a far different treatment—and as the irony of fate would have it it is this party that was instrumental in bringing Abdul Hamid to the throne.

So little is known in India about this party that a few words about its history and present condition will not be out of place. The movement is not naturally enough the creation of one man, it is the result of the forces of western knowledge acting on the educated Turkish mind. Slowly but surely it dawned on some minds in Turkey, that the general helplessness so visible in the body politic was due to the fact that the conditions of healthy Government in the modern world had changed. That Turkey failed to adopt itself to these changes, that a more efficient and more national system was required, in short that autocracy had had its day in the world, and that for a State to live it was necessary that the mind of the nation should not be entirely ignored. In the roll of Turkish reformers who strove to bring about a healthy change in the administration of the country, the names of Mahmood II, Fuad, Aali and Reshid, stand very high. But it is doubtful if any of them, except of course, Mahmood, did as much for Turkey as the famous Midhat Pasha. For all practical purposes, Midhat may be regarded as the man who gave the aspirations of Young and liberal Turkey shape and articulation. And it is to his memory that the Reforming Party turns for inspiration and courage, in its unequal struggle with the reactionaries. But backed by the monarch the reactionaries have all but annihilated the progressives. Ridicule, disgrace and banishment have been their lot since the accession of the present Sultan; and never before were so many Turks passing their lives in exile—forced as well as voluntary—as at the present day. Hundreds of them have escaped to Europe, thousand others have been sent to distant parts of the Empire to live there in political surveilance. In Turkey they are gagged but outside Turkey, they are crying themselves hoarse over the woes of their mother-land. The Turk (Cairo), the Ijtihad (Geneva), the Osmanli (Geneva), the Roumelli (Paris), the Dogri-Soor (*i. e.*, Truth), all papers of this party are full of painfully sad yet impressive articles in which month after month and week after week they rage and implore, exhort and denunciate and put forth all the rhetoric at their disposal to catch the ear of the man who guides the destiny of the nation at the present time.

Time was when the rule of Turkey had fallen in the hands of the liberals among them. Abdul Aziz, the reckless spendthrift, had been deposed, and Murad was on the throne of the Osmanlis—Murad, in whom the brighest hopes of the nation were centred and who bade fair to be the first constitutional Ottoman Sovereign. But to the misfortune of Turkey, this enlightened monarch, who was not blessed with the iron nerves of his ancestors, lost his reason at the tragic death of his uncle, the deposed Sultan Abdul Aziz; and the king-makers of the time made undue haste to put Prince Hamid on the throne.

But before offering him the throne, the reforming ministers—Midhat and others—then in the hey-day of their power stipulated that the Prince should agree to certain clear and definite conditions among which first and foremost stood the promulgation of the new constitution drawn up by them.

Midhat was sent to interview the Prince Abdul Hamid and ascertain if he would agree to these conditions.

"At this historical interview," says Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, the son and biographer of Midhat Pasha in the *Life of Midhat Pasha*,* a book which the misinformed Indian Mohamedan ought to read if he is at all desirous of learning the truth about Turkey, "at this interview at Mouslan Ouglon, Prince Hamid evidently played a deep game with Midhat Pasha. He promised all and more than all that was asked of him. He pretended to opinions more advanced than the most advanced of his ministers and in favour of even a more democratic constitution than the one elaborated. On receiving these clear and emphatic declarations Midhat returned to Stamboul and informed the assembled ministers, who thereupon resolved to take the decisive step and put prince Hamid on the throne in the place of his brother Murad."

On Thursday, the 1st September, 1876, Sultan Abdul Hamid II ascended the throne,—an event to which our young author, Ali Hayder, refers in terms that are pregnant with profound sorrow.

"Girt with the sword of Osman" he feelingly writes, "Hamid II reigned over Turkey and the dark gloom of the Hamidian epoch was now about to settle over the land of the Osmanli."

It was soon apparent that the Sultan was not very friendly to the reformers. The constitution was given right enough, only to be shelved away; and few people now know that Turkey had a Parliament—a short-lived Parliament—destroyed by the hand that created it. Midhat was exiled; and with the exile of Midhat the deathknell of the reform Party was sounded; henceforward the autocracy of Abdul Hamid was complete, unchallenged and uncurbed.

The Sultan is admittedly astute and clever. His immense capacity for work, his devotion to work is remarkable, and in his own way, he is governing Turkey wonderfully;—governing it as no other sovereign is capable of doing. In his long reign, the country has received at his hands some good things; he has conceived some brilliant ideas, the Hedjaz Railway for example. But his deep distrust of his own people, that is what is ruining Turkey. He ought to have led and inspired Young Turkey, as the Mikado, led and inspired young Japan. Had he done that, I doubt not that Turkey would have taken a new lease of life, and half her troubles would have vanished; for the patriotism of the Young Turk is so intense and sincere that with a monarch to support them they would do anything and make any sacrifices.

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*Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.

Their ideals and aspirations as well as their relations with the present regime have been so faithfully described by an Englishman, who lived "20 years in the Near East," that I make no apology to make a rather lengthy quotation from him.

'This party', he says, 'is recruited mostly from the Softas or theological students and from the Naval and Military Colleges, whilst it also embraces a considerable number of the old aristocracy such as it exists in Turkey. The latter are disgusted at the influence and power exercised by all the brood left behind by Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Abdul Aziz—men like Loutfi Agha, Hadji Ali and others, who from being domestic servants within the memory of all the old Pashas now reign supreme over the once proud Empire of the Ottomans, and are bringing it to rapid ruin. The younger generation follows the ideas of Midhat Pasha and his Constitution and would establish ministerial responsibility and education, attempting to regenerate Turkey through its own sons instead of by importing foreign advisers and reformers. The Young Turkey party looks upon the Sultan as the chief offender from the system he had inaugurated, of breaking up every little bundle of sticks and snapping them one after another, till there is scarcely any foundation left at present on which to build up a new edifice. The Young Turks, though fully alive to the many superiorities of European methods are most averse to having these methods forced upon them by Europeans, being of opinion, and quite rightly, that not one Western in ten thousand is capable of understanding the needs of orientals. What they wish is themselves to introduce such reforms as they see are most urgently needed, since experience has taught them that the interference of the powers, though exercised nominally and sometimes genuinely in the interests of the Empire, invariably leads to a curtailment of Ottoman rights and privileges and a gradual undermining of their independence."

Mr. Hulme Beaman—for this is the name of the gentleman whom I am quoting—then goes on to say:

"Europe has now come to the conclusion that it is impossible for the Turks to govern themselves decently—being logically forced to that deduction by the persistent and increasing misrule under the regime which now obtains at Gildiz. Consequently Europe has never had any sympathy with the Young Turks, who have been left to fight their battle alone. The unequal struggle against the arbitrary, unlimited and murderous powers has hitherto led to no result at all, except wholesale exile and a good deal of torture and bloodshed. In fact, although much less has been heard about their sufferings, the Young Turks have been as badly treated in proportion to their numbers as the Armenians. With the ideas they hold, they cannot expect—at least they will never receive—much help from Europe, and so closely are they watched by the legion of spies that they dare not even subscribe five pounds towards a common object. Being unable to collect money to found newspapers, to form Committees or otherwise propagate their ideas, their hopes naturally centre in the disappearance of the Sultan. I do not say that they go so far as to contemplate any *coup de main*, but there is little doubt that at Gildiz if any fear at all is felt it arises from this quarter."

I can subscribe, from my own experience, to every word in the preceding passage. The grievances of the Musalmans in Turkey are manifold indeed. They form a community whom the autocrat and the officials holding authority under him can and do oppress without any fear of protest or interference from any quarter. They fight the country's battles, they make an overwhelming contribution to the State Exchequer, but the only reward they get is tighter administration, fewer chances of development and an increasing neglect of their interests.

We have seen the fate of Midhat Pasha. He was a politician, but men of letters have fared no better. Poets and authors like Kernal and Zia Bey—the Hali's and Nazir Ahmed's of Turkey—who stirred the national mind to its inmost depths died in disgrace, and their works and books are under a ban.

This is Turkey to-day, and a more pitiful, more heart-rending state of affairs I cannot conceive. And yet Abdul Hamid is the idol of Indian Mohamedans !

"SAJJAD."

* * *

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN INDIA.

WE are in an era of excitement and agitation. Manufacturing schemes and movements are in the wind and we are treated to exhibitions, displays and also lectures on industrial improvements. India has ever been regarded as a land of promises, a field of uncultivated resources and a vast store-house which had never been up to this opened. But how far it is possible to exploit the resources or by what magic word to open the storehouse has never been properly discussed. People are dreaming of an industrial regeneration and a new commercial era in store for this country. The resources were all shy and had taken refuge in nooks and corners, only money was wanted to bring them out. The richer classes have been blamed for hoarding up their wealth and not using it for their own as well as their country's advancement. But the question to what extent the old country has given or is prepared to give labour assistance to any schemes for industrial improvement, has never up to this been considered well. Labour is cheap and could be easily commanded is the general opinion. Under these circumstances one is startled on hearing that such an august body as the Upper India Chamber of Commerce moved at the conference held in Calcutta in January, 1905, the resolution that the supply of rank and file labour for organised industries was manifestly inadequate, and such want was seriously hampering the productive power of a considerably large part of the manufacturing concerns of the country. The Government was requested to take up and investigate the question by the help of a commission.

In the matter of industries the question of labour is of as great, if not of greater, importance as that of money. Can India fit up a labour organization strong enough to bear the pressure of an ever increasing industrial activity? This is the question that has got to be answered. We recognise that the country is awaking, we have abundant signs of briskness and commotion and the labour problem seems to be more prominent than it has ever been before.

Before considering this question it is better to consider the state of labour in the most important industrial countries. These countries, that have avowedly been leading the world by the industrial strings, are the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States. The manufacturing and industrial superiority of these has ever been evident. Though all of them are at the front, still the predominence of some amongst them, chiefly the United States and Germany has been more marked. The United Kingdom cannot now claim that rank which was her own a generation ago. Industry and manufactures have relatively grown bigger in the United States and in Germany than in the United Kingdom, and this is believed to be due in a way to the increase in population, and consequently in labour in those countries. A comparative study of the census statistics will be interesting.

Growth of population in a generation.

Country.	1871.	1900-01.	Increase.
	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.
United Kingdom ...	31½	41½	10
Germany	41	56⅓	15⅓
United States	38½	75½	37

We see that in the course of 30 years the United States doubled her population, Germany increased hers by more than ⅓ and the United Kingdom by ⅓. Of course the areas of all these countries cannot be compared with one another. The United States is a vast region of about 300 million square miles; Germany is about 240,000 square miles, while Great Britain is about half the size of the latter. But in considering the labour question we have to count the actual amount of labour that could be commanded. The increase shown above was one in the total population and thus includes the total labour that could be obtained for all purposes. But we have to make an allowance for agriculture as it has never been included in the industries, (for if it had been, India on that standard would probably be one of the leading countries in the world) and calculate the actual amount of labour which could be used up for the industries only. So we have to deduct from the total number that devoted to agriculture. But often the increase in the urban population is regarded as an increase of industrial hands as most of the people in villages go to agriculture only, and those in towns to industries. On the basis of this calculation the increase in industrial numbers is shown below:—

Increase in urban population.

Country.	Urban population 30 years ago.	Urban population to-day.	Increase.
Germany	14,790,798	30,633,075	15,842,277
United States	8,071,875	24,992,199	16,920,324
United Kingdom ...	31½ millions.	41½ millions.	10 millions.

The total population of the United Kingdom has been classed as urban as most of it is living in towns where industrial activity is great. We see that Germany and the United States increased the number of their hands more than the United Kingdom. If these countries can out of a few millions spare as many as half the number of the total population for industrial purposes, then indeed India with her 294 millions must be a great reservoir of labour. But let us consider the details and calculate the total increase in population as well as in available labour (by available labour, we mean, portion of labour, which could be obtained exclusively for industrial purposes).

According to the census of 1871, the total population of India was 206 millions, and in 1901 the number rose to 294 millions. Within the course of a generation there was an increase of 88 millions in both the agricultural and non-agricultural classes.

In a given period the United States with an area of 300 million square miles doubled her population, and India with about half this area increased hers by 43 per cent. The virgin soil of the states was colonised late, hence this doubling up is but natural; whereas India was occupied long ages ago. Moreover, there was very little of immigration here as compared with that in the states. The increase in the Indian population was mainly a multiplication of an already existing people and that in the United States consists more of an addition from foreign parts than of a multiplication. The United States draw an ever-increasing supply of persons seeking permanent residence in foreign parts and thus the numbers grow. To take one instance, out of every 100 Britishers leaving Europe to make their homes abroad, 64 go to the United States and 36 to British colonies. Thus the increase in the indigenous population is a more distinct credit than the increase in the states.

This is a survey of 30 years' increase, but if we take up decade after decade, it is discouraging. Between the years 1871-81, the increase is about 47 millions, between 1881-91 nearly 33 millions, and between 1891 and 1901 also only 7 millions. We are steadily coming down. Now let us take up available labour. The standard of urban population which we have adopted in calculating the increase in labour in the important manufacturing countries cannot be used here, because in the first place we cannot fix a proper standard of urbanity; secondly, we can draw labour from the rural population without affecting agriculture in any way; lastly, our joint family system, though a charitable institution, in a way, is a drone-breeding contrivance, and wherever it exists, there we can safely assume that a reserve manhood can be found. Even if we take it up we cannot get reliable results. The census of 1872 does not give the number of the urban population. But in 1891 we have about 27 millions and in 1901, 29 millions—an increase of two millions in the course of 10 years. But we may be sure that there is more labour available. Moreover, the urban population is not wholly devoted to professions other than agriculture. Of the town denizens, merely "$\frac{1}{12}$ take to agriculture as compared with $\frac{2}{3}$ in the general population." So the urban population is a motley group of agricultural as well as non-agricultural classes, and we have to calculate the number of agriculturists and thence deduce the number utilisable for the industries.

There are various theories regarding the number of agriculturists. From the Congress platform we hear that about 80 per cent. find employment in agriculture. In that case we have only about 20 per cent. left for other work, and an increase of 17,600,000 in the number of persons available for industries, in the course of 30 years. Germany and the United States with only 41 and 38 million people increased their labouring hands by 16 and 17 millions, respectively, while India with 206 millions at the beginning, nearly 7 times that of the United States and 6 times of Germany shows the same increase. This is not at all encouraging.

The other theory is that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the general population stick to agriculture. From the statistics of occupation we observe that out of every 10,000 persons, 5,200 take to agriculture exclusively, 700 are field lbourers and 150 grain purchasers. Making an allowance of about 6 per cent. for any accessory labour that might be required, we arrive roughly to about 6,500 who are agriculturists or about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the people take to tilling.

In 1901 we have 52 per cent. agriculturists, 12 per cent. field labourers, 1 per cent. growers of special products, thus 65 in all devoted to the soil; and allowing for reserve and accessory labour, we shall again get $\frac{2}{3}$ who are employed in matters relating to tillage. Let us go back to 20 years and find the occupation of the people. The earlier statistics are rather incorrect in such matters. The census of 1881 gives 82 millions as agricultural out of a total population of 254 millions; 86 and odd millions are returned as persons without occupation. Those figures in the very face are absurd, but if we regard the number of persons of no occupation as agriculturists working as subordinates, when required, and add both the figures, we find the result to be 169 millions which perfectly agrees with our two-thirds theory.

So in 1872, out of the 206 millions, $\frac{2}{3}$ or $137\frac{1}{3}$ millions were working in the field, and 69 ($68\frac{2}{3}$ is the correct number) millions were free for other work. In 1901, out of 294 millions, 196 worked in the fields and 98 were free for use in other capacities. Thus, in the course of a generation we have an increase of 29 millions. Even here we find that the numbers have not risen in good proportions.

Germany increased her labouring hands by about 107 per cent., the United States by 212 per cent., and India only about 42 per cent., Are the results comparable ?

We remarked that in 1901 there were 98 million hands free for the industries, 15 per cent. were in the preparing and supplying and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the transport and storage departments. According to the latest returns there are something like 83 millions acres fit for cultivation, lying waste, in addition to forest and fallow tracts and lands which could be reclaimed. Of course all these millions will not be cultivated at once. Still we know that the policy of irrigation will extend. In the near future some of the arable land lying waste will be brought under cultivation. This will require more and more labour. The $\frac{1}{3}$ margin which we now have, will come down to $\frac{1}{6}$ or even less, and in fact we cannot say to how much. So we must expect a vast decrease in the labour for the industries.

This is dealing with the future; but let us speak of the present. According to the two-thirds theory, we have still 98 millions hands and the 80 per cent. theory gives us 58,800,000 hands for industrial purposes. In spite of the slow rate of increase so many numbers are at present available. The deadly plague is working at our vital core and sapping our manhood; consequently we find that our people are not growing steadily. At this rate of growth progress in the long run is impossible, but we hope that speedy measures will be taken to put down much of the ravages of that deadly disease.

Though most of our people are employed, still there is room for improvement in many directions. If feeder Railways are extended and automobiles are used for transport and the like purposes, many of these who are now employed in these capacities, can be transferred for other work. Thus, out of the 98 millions (or even 58,800,000, taking these numbers as correct) many of our industries can be manned. Anyhow we have got more men than the United States or Germany. Our industrial hands are more numerous than the total population of Germany (taking the numbers to be 58,800,000). And if we have 98 millions, then they far exceed the entire population of the United States. Any way, according to satistics, we have no scarcity of hands for labour. But these millions are scattered unequally over a vast area, and there are some difficulties to be overcome before work in the industries can be made acceptable to the average Indian.

First, we have the difficulty of transporting. The numbers are unequally spread. In some places there is abundance, and in others a scarcity of labour. The people should be made to move from one part to another. Indian spirit is ever averse to colonisation. Though we find him going to the colonies, still it is not for permanent residence (and we do not advise him to do that), but only for a temporary stay with the hope of returning and leading a happy life with his earnings there. This spirit, praiseworthy and sentimental in itself, looks jarring when we find him refusing to transplant himself from one part to another of his own country. His love is for his village and not for the country. The recent difficulty felt in colonising the Kurmool canal tract substantiates the statement. The aversion is probably due to the entertaining of a pessimistic view of life which makes him regard that pleasure and happiness are not to be sought after, but will come of their own accord wherever he may be, whether in his own native village or in the distant colonies. This is mainly fatalistic, and we hope that a sure proof of future happiness will make him leave his soil and take refuge in other parts where greater facilities are placed in the way of his life. The Punjab canal colonies have attracted many people, and that part of India is turning into a garden. This attraction to the colonies may be the main cause for the deficiency complained of by the Upper Indian Chamber. Secondly, his natural bent of mind is another and more important obstruction. Everyone will agree that the average Indian takes to agriculture more readily than to any other occupation. Probably the freedom of an agricultural life is more bracing than the even tenure of a clock-work-like life in manufacturing concerns. In spite of famines and draughts we find him sticking to agriculture and agriculture only for his maintenance. In the excellent series of articles contributed some time back by Sir Eward Buck to the *Times of India* on the question of improvement in East Africa he proposed that the experience of centuries acquired in India by our cultivators should be made use of in that land and said that the most efficacious measure is the importation of Indian cultivators. The excellence of the work turned out by an Indian in the fields is amply corroborated by him. In one of these articles, Sir Edward writes as follows:—

> "Accidental circumstances in East Africa have already indicated the use which may be made of the Indian cultivator. An English official in the protectorate territory.........had been, as his father was before him, a resident of Calcutta. Taking a natural interest in the Indians who were brought over to work on the Railways, he collected *the Waifs and Strays* who were willing to stay in the country and obtained leave to plant them, some 30 in number, on lands a few miles from Victoria Nyanza. And this is what Sir Charles Eliot was able to say of them in his administration report a year ago. 'They grow rice, cotton, sesamum, linseed, &c., and I was much gratified to find when visiting this settlement that not only do the Indian agriculturists prosper but that the surrounding natives successfully imitate their method of cultivation and irrigation."

Another correspondent of the *Times of India* wrote recently about the excellent agricultural work done by the Indians in Fiji. A testimony like this proves beyond doubt that the Indian is more exclusively an agricultural being and takes up that profession more readily than any other. In the eighties when an attempt was made to reclaim the criminal tribes of North India, waste lands of a zamindar were apportioned by the Government amongst the tribes, and they were also supplied with the Ganges canal water. In no time these tribes which had forsaken agriculture and all professions, some generations ago, took to it as ducks to water and the waste lands were waving with corn.

So the natural tendencies and aptitudes of our people are towards agriculture, and we cannot expect them to turn out factory work successfully. In the fields they are experts but outside this they are to be taught the rudiments of industrial work. Hence it is that even in villages agricultural labour is cheap, whereas labour for the finer and more dexterous work is costlier. A carpenter or other handicraftsman demands three or four times more wages than a fieldman. These are the two potent difficulties in the way of utilising the strength of the people, first of transplantation and secondly of the want of industrial knowledge. Both may be easily overcome. Of course, we strongly recommend that a Government commission should be issued. Still there is vast room for private enterprise. The leading concerns should appoint agents in various parts of the country where labour is manifestly abundant. They cannot expect labourers from distant parts to go to them of their own accord. The agents should canvass for labour in the same way as the labour agents for the colonies do. Factory life must be made pleasant and cheerful in every possible way. And this lies not in mere vain futile promises, but in the fulfilment of such promises. Theirs should not be allowed to be a life of drudgery under a cruel and stern taskmaster, but must be one of work alternating with rest, so that when any of them come back to their native homes, they should not be stumbling blocks in the way of the labour-seeking agents, but must act as pioneers encouraging their brethren to follow them to the various parts.

Secondly, the most important industrial concerns should start technical schools attached to the factories, where education of a rudimentary technical type should be imparted. They need not go in for professors from the continent or other learned men; trained factory hands will do well. They can be relieved of some of their work in the factories and made to teach the youngsters of the imported labourers such things as the handling of ordinary instruments of mechanism and other subjects relevant to factory work. This is a simple scheme in itself and will go towards increasing the number of those well versed in industrial work, and lessening the now high wages of artificers and other mechanics; in the long run, we may expect that the wages of such labour will come down to the level of the agricultural labour, and there will be a vast scope for private industrial enterprise. If such schemes are worked out, Government may be expected to take interest in them and make substantial help towards furthering them. The system of apprenticeship is useful in a way, but it cannot be said to be reliable. The system is very much in vogue in the United Kingdom, and to some extent it is followed in certain quarters in India. But one cannot be sure of the number of enrolments. Even taking the case of the United Kingdom we find the number of apprentices to be decreasing. Till lately there were about 5,500 indentures enrolled, whereas in 1870 there were no less than 18,303. So one cannot be sure of them. Hence if the school system is developed, we can have as many labouring hands as we require at our service and the cost will not be much. With a small initial outlay the young ones can be trained and their latent capabilities can be brought out. These very companies and firms which are now blamed for exploiting Indian resources by foreign capital, can very conveniently work out by such a system the labour salvation of the country. Instead of mutely appealing to the Government, they can adopt such measures; the Government will then meet them half way and a clear solution of the problem can be rendered. We hear much about the Estate Schools of Ceylon. They are on a different basis, but we can improve upon them and make them subserve the cause of the industries.

The planter's bill secured hands for the plantations. The sympathetic words of Lord Curzon to the conference delegates and the acquisition of the new bureau have raised great hopes in various quarters. Let us wait and see what legislation or remedy will be brought forward for setting right this growing difficulty of the lack of labouring hands.

REDNUS.

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THE DAY OF SMALL THINGS IN INDIAN ENTERPRISE.

PERHAPS the most difficult lesson an individual or a nation could ever learn is that of self-help, and the most arduous task a country like India could ever set to herself is the practice of the virtue of self-reliance. A cheerful disposition and a buoyant spirit are essential to help one to have a proper estimate of oneself, while it is almost a hopeless thing to venture to inspire enthusiasm and self-confidence when one is in poverty and subject to disease. No doubt, the idea of Japanising India is afloat in the atmosphere here. But in the hearts of the keenest enthusiasts, there is entertained the fear if India will ever achieve the industrial and economic stage which Japan has reached of late. Japan, full of enthusiasm and vigour, has worked out her economic salvation in a manner that surprises the most romantic dreamer. India, on the other hand, being a victim to famine and disease and to evils which she sometimes could avoid and often could not, offers a most marked contrast to Japan. While Japan is busy dictating terms to some of the greatest powers of the world and utilising her energies in works of the greatest consequences to humanity at large, it is very humiliating to see that India is still at the very bottom rung of the ladder that leads to glory and eminence. It sounds almost paradoxical that India which had commercial instincts in her, long before the Christian era, should in this twentieth century, be discussing the importance of commercial education, the benefits of co-operative undertakings and the necessity of agricultural banks, and such like trifles, when the rest of the world have settled these problems at least a century ago. Humiliating as this retrospect is, the best policy now seems to be to make the best use of the existing conditions. India's great misfortune is considered to be due more to want of capital than enterprise. The greatest undertakings of Europe, America and even Japan are no doubt the results of large capitals; and one might even say that gun ch undertakings would never have been possible withou mity fabulous riches to draw upon. But one often for ading in have capital is one thing and to invest it in ind ion which takings is another thing. If the estimates of d concensus, und and well-of India are correct, then we have enough of capital in the country to carry on the most startling industrial or commercial undertaking. If capital is all that is wanting, we can always get a loan of foreign capital, provided we could prove to the foreign capitalists that we have enough of skill and enterprise, to pursue a great and profitable undertaking. Great undertakings may and generally have small beginnings, and to begin on a small scale, need not require a large capital. Our labour is cheap, and life in India is simple; so a large capital is not very essential for some time yet to come, at all events. Even some of the great Commercial and Industrial undertakings of the different parts of the world are governed and directed by men who began their life very poor with scarcely half a crown in their pockets, as capital. Things begun on a small scale generally increase enormously by the genius and the business capacities of their originators; when once the industry thrives those who stood aloof at the beginning would often come forward to help the cause with some more capital and capacity. *One ought to remember that it is not capital that makes industry but industry that makes capital.* Capital in the form of money may not be available in India at present if it is needed on a large scale. But this is due more to want of enterprise and trust in the ultimate triumph of industrial undertakings than through sheer want of accumulated wealth. We have enough to spare to work out our economic salvation even in our most depressed years. If a sufficient number of men of some force of character and ability would set about to prove to the Indian capitalists the benefits of co-operative undertakings, it will not be such a hopeless task to induce them to part with their precious savings for investment. One must own with humiliation that Indians have not yet learned to trust in themselves and in their own countrymen. The reason for this is not because India has not got many men of genius, originality, integrity and solidity of character to use them in commercial enterprises, but because so much of this valuable *personal capital* is directed in other channels. Law, Medicine, and other professions absorb the best men of the day

h very few honourable exceptions, commerce and agri-

e left to drift along with the material they could possibly

rt-rending to see so much intellect and character

ost wasted over competitive examinations and professional tests which do not, as a rule, afford decent livelihood to the majority of the candidates, while commercial life with all its possibilities and prospects is discounted and left as the last resource. Indian parents and school masters are, I think, responsible for this state of affairs as they do not emphasise sufficiently the importance of commercial education and the rich rewards commercial life affords to all that are industrious and enterprising. The lawyer is held up as the highest ideal a young man could look up to, and the business-man is treated with undeserved contempt and disregard. If it is desired that the best intellects and the highest talents of India should be directed towards commercial enterprises, it becomes absolutely essential that those who are in charge of young and impressionable minds should turn them towards those directions by showing them the needs of the country and teaching them the dignity of manual labour and the glory of independence and self-reliance. As long as commerce holds a place second to the professions it cannot be expected that the best talents of India will be directed towards her progress and advancement. *Revolution in the ideal must precede the revolution in the actual.*

It is unfortunate that most of the capital in India is in the hands of those who have so little come in contact with western influences and who do not sufficiently comprehend the modern conception of progress. But if the English-knowing men who profess to read the signs of the times and understand the needs of their country, should only learn to trust one another and unite together, many commercial undertakings which are now considered impossible might at least be attempted, perhaps, with great success. A great many have, by means of their savings amassed immense wealth. If they would only consent to follow the trend of modern economic aspects of life and invest their money in joint-stock companies, it is possible to undertake many industrial concerns which would earn them very high profits and at the same time find work to the poor. It is very unfortunate that the idea that the present industrial torpor of India is due to want of capital is gaining ground in this country, especially among the English-educated classes as it often serves as a good e sloth and want of enterprise. The son of a Deputy C District Munsif who has accumulated not less th from the savings of his salary, or the son

doctor whose fortune amounts to a lakh of rupees would account for his indifference to industrial enterprise by merely alluding to absence of capital in the country. One might be excused for hesitating to start a mining industry or ship-building without a large capital ; but it is absurd to insist that all commerce should be at a stand-still because one cannot get millions to invest in gigantic undertakings. In England, especially in the manufacturing districts, one often comes across persons living in regal splendour who once began their life very poor. In fact, they were content with very small beginnings, and when opportunities offered themselves, by the sheer force of tact and resourcefulness, they have built up very extensive businesses. If all those who profess to believe in the industrial regeneration of India, should invest about 10 Rs. per head, in commercial enterprises, it would be surprising how soon we could solve our present economic problem. It may take a long time before India thoroughly understands the importance of joint-stock companies and the carrying on of business on a large scale, which are not, after all, unmixed blessings. No doubt, they improve many odds and ends of business, economise labour, minimise expenses and cheapen commodities—but one should not forget that all these magnificent results are often at the expense of the dignity and manhood of the labourers. One cannot deny that they have a tendency to reduce man into a mere machine and sacrifice the comfort of labourers for the rapid multiplication of commodities. Therefore one is justified in hesitating to introduce the Western methods of Industry with all their train of evils into India. But business on a small scale is not foreign to the Indian national sentiment. Considering the cheapness of labour and the simplicity of life, perhaps it is best to encourage small business-men and peasant proprietors, though the system might mean some economic loss, because the labourers will not then be so entirely at the mercy of the capitalists. Moreover, it often takes a long time to convince a large number of capitalists of the advisability of adopting up-to-date methods and launching on new speculations, while a single capitalist may do all this with ease, rapidity and race as soon as he is convinced of the importance of the h
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plenty of scope for business on a small scale in ar f the world. For instance, many Indian things ost could be introduced into Britain with great success. It may be news to many Indians to know that there is such a thing as an *Indian Restaurant* in London. I, for one, think that the orientals, as a rule, have a more delicate sense of taste and could cater for all shades of flavour more easily and successfully than the oxidentals. As far as the vegetable cooking is concerned, the Indian cooks are unrivalled in the world, having carried the art of cooking to a very high degree of perfection. Indian chutnies, curries, jams, jellies, and preserved fruit are welcome to many palates. The Indian Restaurant in London was established by an Indian gentleman aided by Indian waiters and cooks, and it is very gratifying to find that it is very well patronised by not only the Indian resident in London and the Anglo-Indians, but also by the English people. The manager told me that he was unwilling to advertise the Restaurant to the public as they could not possibly cater for the great demand. I think there is scope enough for three or four such Restaurants in the important streets of London. There are many Indian Sudents and Anglo-Indians residing in cities like Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester, and all these places are open to catering enterprises by Indians. I do not see any reason why some enterprising Indian cooks and sweetmeat-sellers should not find openings for decent livelihood in various parts of Britain.

India being an agricultural country, great stimulus will be given to the production of fruit, if it could find an easy access to foreign and distant markets. The British people have never tasted a really good mango which we in India consider a fruit in perfection. If one should take advantage of the modern method of cold storage one might export to great advantage mangoes and various other fruits to England. Jamaica is runing a wonderfully prosperous trade in fruit with Britain We must also devise some methods of extracting and concentrating the juices of various fruits. If we could dry fruit with some success, the European markets would welcome our dried fruit.

While we are actuated by the motive of Japanising India at the present day, perhaps it is best to attempt to Indianise Japan also. Though the Japanese use rice as their staple fo egun
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the form of curries, chutnies and pickles. A Japa leading in
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great partiality to Indian-catering if Indian Restaurants be started in Japan. With the vast resources of nature at our hands it is lamentable if we do not turn them to good account. In Europe, especially in Britain, a great many people find occupation in turning out seasonable and fashionable articles for the consumption by the rich. These articles do not, as a rule, need much capital or specialised skill of a very high order. There, dame fashion must be obeyed at all costs, if the individual wishes not to lag behind the times. Many men of small business, the tailors, hatters and milliners in particular, have not a little share in directing the trend of fashion. There being always some persons who have more than enough to spend, when the fashions change soon, new articles, rather modified and adopted articles, are in vogue which find constant work to the labouring classes and artisans, besides developing the intellectual subtleties of the artists, directly or indirectly connected with the trade. So the privations of the unemployed might be mitigated considerably if bold attempts be made in India also to introduce rapidly changing fashions in dress, jewellery, decorative arts, perhaps in eatables as well. These are only a few instances of what might be done in and for India, without the necessity of depending on large capitals for investment. It needs a very enterprising spirit and courage to launch on undertakings which the elite of the Indian Society look at with much disfavour, if not contempt. Still a few must lead the way and set an example to others. The signs of the times are no doubt encouraging. India is gradually recognising the importance of commerce and industry. Japan's admirable example of adapting herself to the modern environment is shaking to its foundation our self-satisfied confidence in the potency of abstract intellect. In the important cities of India, commercial activity is on the advance, and in Bombay, for instance, the merchant princes hold their places second to none. But the poverty of the masses is profound, and the vast majority of our masses are still in hopeless wretchedness. The educated men of India must betake themselves to anything, however uncongenial to their flesh and blood it might be, to uplift their country from th[illegible]ugh and quagmire of despondence.

[illegible] cannot afford to despise the day of small things, should [illegible] achieve lasting success and permanent greatness.

D. S. Rama Chandra Rao, M.A. (Edin.)

GREAT ENGLISH LAWYERS.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS AND ANECDOTES.

I.—Lord Thurlow.

EVER since the time when the British Rule was firmly rooted in Indian soil, the profession of Law has been slowly attracting to itself some of the best intellects of this country. A few sketches therefore of some of the most notable names in English legal history would but serve to enhance the interest which so many of our promising young men take in this profession. We cannot begin better than with the name of Lord Thurlow, one of the greatest lawyers that adorned the English bench. The rise of Lord Thurlow once again emphasises the fact that with ability and patience a person can hope to reach the highest point of his profession. Few had greater difficulties to struggle with in early life than this man. But well and manfully did he meet them. So slender were his means in the beginning, that while travelling the circuit, he had to resort to the most extraordinary expedients in order to defray his expenses.

The bluntness of his temper which characterised him in his later days was there from his very youth, and his college life was violent and ungovernable. At Cambridge he became notorious for the daring which he displayed in setting the discipline of his college at defiance and in exhibiting a most supreme contempt for the persons and character of those by whom that discipline was maintained. With the dean of his college he appears to have been involved in constant warfare. On one occasion, having been guilty of some act of insubordination, he was summoned before the dean, who, as a punishment, desired him to translate a paper of the *Spectator* into Greek, and to bring the translation to him. The first part of the order Thurlow obeyed, the second he disregarded. He easily performed the task imposed, but to annoy the dean, whose deficiencies in classical learning were notorious, carried it to o tutors. Thurlow was summoned before the dean and bled fellows of his college. Upon Thurlow's ente the dean thus addressed him "How durst you translation to Mr.———, when I desired you to bring it to me." Thurlow replied, with the greatest composure, "That he had done so from no motive of disrespect to the dean, but really *from a compassionate wish not to puzzle him.*" The enraged dean was for expelling him. Someone, however, suggested that, if publicity were given to the transaction the reputation of the dean would not be much benefited, and that it would be far more prudent to let the matter drop than attract notice. This wise advice was followed.

In course of time this young hero rose to be Lord High Chancellor of England and Speaker of the House of Lords. During this latter capacity he conducted himself in a manner which made him feared and respected by the proudest peer in the land. He enforced the rules of debates with great dignity. Upon one occasion he called the Duke of Grafton to order, who, incensed at the interruption, insolently reproached Thurlow with his plebeian origin and recent admission into the peerage. When the Duke had completed his speech, Thurlow rose from the woolsack and advanced slowly to the place whence the Chancellor generally addresses the House. Then fixing upon the Duke the look of Jove—"I am amazed," he said, "at the attack which the noble Duke has made upon me. Yes, my Lords," considerably raising his voice, "I am amazed at his Grace's speech. The noble Duke cannot look before him, or on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer, who owes his seat in this House to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these, as to being the accident of an accident? To all these noble Lords the language of the noble Duke is as applicable and insulting as it is to myself. But I do not fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do; but my Lords, I must say the peerage solicited me, not I the peerage. Nay, more, I can say, and will say, that as peer of Parliament, as Speaker of this Right Honourable House, as Keeper of the great seal, as Guardian of his Majesty's conscience, as Lord High Chancellor of England, nay, even in that character alone, in h [illegible] he Duke would think it an affront to be considered, but a le[illegible] can deny *me*—as a Man—I am at this moment as ar[illegible]d respected as the proudest peer I now look down osi[illegible]ngland, too, has had her Iron Chancellor.

This violent temper brought him often into collision with Young Pitt, the Great Commoner, who was just rising to power. Thurlow did not altogether like the look of conscious superiority which the youthful Prime Minister assumed towards him. Once at table, Pitt was expatiating on the superiority of the Latin over the English language, and cited as an instance, the fact that in Latin two negatives made a thing more positive than one affirmative could do. "Then your father and mother," exclaimed Thurlow in his gruff voice, "must have been two negatives, to have made such a positive fellow as you are."

At the Council-table Thurlow and Pitt could never get on well. Pitt used to declare that he proposed nothing, opposed everything, and agreed in nothing. Very often matters of State were discussed at the Cabinet dinners, and Thurlow, when the cloth was cleared, refusing to join his colleagues in their deliberations would get up, quit the table, and stretching himself at full length on three chairs, would go to sleep. With such a colleague as this, Pitt naturally could not have much community of feeling. It will not be out of place to mention here a characteristic anecdote. We can quite naturally understand the surprise which possessed both the Whigs and Tories in Parliament when Pitt supported the opposition in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Thurlow very freely expressed his opinion on Pitt's conduct. Pitt grounded his support on the fact that the conduct which Hastings pursued towards Chait Singh of Benares showed an *intention* of punishing him too severely. This *intention*, Pitt contended, was criminal, and for this *intention* he voted for impeachment. When Lord Thurlow heard of Pitt's reason for supporting Burke's motion, he condemned with vehemence the injustice of grounding an impeachment on a mere *intention*. "If a girl," he said in his glowling style, "had talked law in these terms, it might have been excusable."

Lord Thurlow was nick-named the "Tiger." The following anecdotes of his gruff and surly behaviour have been related. When the Chief-Justiceship of Chester was vacant, Mr. Ld begunt who was intimate with the Chancellor, wrote hi conformity epistle : "The Chief-Justiceship of Chestor is vad leading in have it?" The answer of Thurlow was equalbanisation which by G—! Kenyon shall have it." The followira solid concensus, interesting. One day on crossing somedly sound and well-was overtaken by a little sweep, as dirty and sooty as little sweeps generally are. The urchin in passing his Lordship touched his dress, which consequently assumed a hue as dark as the boy's own face. "D—n your black face," exclaimed the Chancellor angrily. The boy looked up at Thurlow's dark countenance; "D—n your black face too" he shouted and bounded off. His appearance was in no way pre-possessing.

But enough of these eccentricities. In spite of his hot temper Lord Thurlow was a great lawyer. When young he spent whole nights in the pursuit of his favourite study. This is of course very creditable, but what is not so very creditable is the fact that he spent the hours of daylight in the coffee-houses, amidst wits and rakes, the very idlest of the idle. But even after being raised to the woolsack he was extremely attached to the study of law and is said to have sought legal occupation long after he had left office. When on the bench he disliked and always checked any tendency to what is called eloquence. He once cut short a flowery advocate in the middle of a metaphor and bade him to read his brief. His behaviour to the bar was rough and uncouth, but never overbearing. On the day before the Court rose for a long vacation, the Chancellor was leaving without delivering the customary valedictory address to the bar; he had nearly reached the door when a young barrister said to a friend in a loud whisper; he might at least have said, "D—n you!". Whether Thurlow overheard this remark or whether the matter had escaped him is not certain, but he returned to his chair and made the usual parting speech.

M. S. Commissariat, M. A.

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: AS IT HAS BEEN AND AS IT NEED BE.

By Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C. I. E.

UNDER the above heading I published, within the last two months, a series of letters in the *Madras Standard*, dealing with the following points:—(1) A brief history of the Congress with a view to explain the causes which led to what it is and has been; (2) the objections, now and for sometime past, raised to what it has been and my estimate of them; (3) what changes, if any, are to be introduced to work it to advantage or rather to better advantage than now or hitherto. I now put them into the form of this article, with the kind permisson of my friend, the editor of the *Standard*, one who is ever and exceptionally ready, as his successive issues abundantly prove, to give the widest publicity, directly and indirectly, to what he regards as worth the study of his countrymen at large.

The History of the Congress.—To my knowledge, it was discussed, if not conceived, in rough outline in 1884 in Bombay, where many leaders met to bid adieu to the most righteous and Godfearing of our Viceroys, the Marquis of Ripon. It arose out of a widespread feeling that whereas new forces and conditions had come in the wake of the British rule and had begun to operate, and fresh methods and lines of action, in conformity to them, suggested themselves to men of light and leading in different parts of the country, there was no organisation which would bring them together and focus, into a solid concensus, their opinions which, however intrinsically sound and wellmatured, remained practically isolated from one another and could not therefore tell, as they ought to. The first session of the Congress, which was held in the ensuing year, was the outcome of that conviction, and it obviously aimed at no more than to secure *that* concensus and see it declared unmistakably, as the collective voice. That such should have been and would have been the primary object and limit just then, was natural enough. Either for this reason in the main or because there was not time enough for a wider swoop, its delegates did not run up to three figures; and obviously they could not. But thanks to Mr. G. Subramania Iyer for republishing what was rare and almost unprocurable, its report, while it shows numerical paucity of its members, shows equally that so far as Bombay and Madras were concerned, their best specimens of talent, of learning, and of earnestness were there. That its deliberations and suggestions did not lack weight by reason of poverty of numbers is, I think, well established by the respect it commanded and the regardful terms in which it was spoken of at the time by the authorities and other responsible men, official or otherwise. This gives or ought to give every one the unequivocal impression that, looked at discriminately and without bias, it sufficed for all intents and purposes and that it might well be the model for future sessions for a long time to come. When that session was about to break up, the question arose as to where the next was to be. Madras was first on the *tapis*, for the reason that its representatives were there in fairly strong muster while Bengal and other centres of enlightenment chanced to be far below par. But Mr. Hume opined that the choice should fall on Bengal, for reasons which appeared good enough. His verdict was, as a matter of course, decisive, as it ought to have been. When stirred opulent and munificent Calcutta was at its best and worked the Congress in a manner worthy of her riches and her richness in energy and capable men. In grandeur of scale, in vastness of numbers and in sumptuousness of treatment towards the delegates, it went sublimely up at one bound and surpassed all expectations. Its claim to respect, nevertheless these extraneous adjuncts, remained undiminished as shown by the two facts, *viz.* (1) Sir Charles Elliot, the then President of the Finance Committee, and later on, a Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces and our steadfast friend, Mr. Cotton (now Sir Henry), sought admission and were there the last day, which was quite a gala day of learning, of eloquence and of earnestness displayed; and (2) that Lord Dufferin honoured the delegates by invitation to a garden party, got up evidently, though not expressly, for their benefit. It may not be amiss, however, to state here, that, if Madras had had the choice instead of Calcutta, the second session of the Congress would have been organised on the model and within the numerical limits of its predecessor, with perhaps a larger contingent of delegates from Bengal and other centres which had been comparatively badly off in the preceding year. It is not improbable that two successive sittings, cast into analogous moulds and confined to similar proportions, *might* have determined the character and the numerical strength of the institution and might have also obviated *some* of the objections now brought against it. Be that as it may, Calcutta imparted to it the feature of magnificence and the character of a striking demonstration, which have adhered to it ever since, as each succeeding centre could not very well fall far below the standard fixed there or fail, without a sense of humiliation, to possess the character and characteristic brought into vogue then. This was the reason why Madras which had to follow suit had to organise what looked like a sort of Camp of Excercise, with electric lights and other scenic attractions. It was also the cause why no subsequent centre would consent to lag behind indigent Madras. It is thus that vastness of numbers and the character of a demonstration have all along been the prominent features of the Congress.

Bearing these incidents in mind and keeping in view the aim, *with* which and *for* which Congress was started in the first instance, those on the war-path, who have lost temper over Sir P. Mehta and others holding to the original view, appear to me to have gone on the wrong track. Quite apart, however, from the injustice to our sturdy leader and the rest the questions remain, *viz.*, what are the objections to which the Congress is now open and what are the departures which are *now* imperative? Such questions are certainly not out of place, at least once in twenty years.

THE EXTERNALIA OF THE CONGRESS.

Within this term I conclude the two things that have become strikingly associated with the Congress, *viz.* (1) vastness of its numbers, and (2) its character as a demonstration. Some think that these are objectionable features and should be remedied. Are they so? To answer these questions let us consider them each separately. That the growth in numerical strength was great and that it was steady and fairly-well sustained all through, is indisputable. It is inevitable as well, sooner, or later; and Calcutta had only given it an early fillip and precipitated it. It would be wrong to say that it has come about in a haphazard way; and it would be flippant, if not malicious as well, mainly to account for it by insinuating that our ranks swelled by the accession of excitement-loving idlers, longing to break the monotony of life, or of notoriety-seeking busy-bodies and nobodies, looking out for something to fuss about or to float them into an adventitious importance, far above their deserts. It would, perhaps, be rash to deny altogether that there might be *some*, falling under one or other of these categories. But, as to the bulk, such a supposition would be wholly unjust and wholly out of place. The truer and more correct explanation which experience of them suggests is that, with the widened scope, many have come to the front, in whom germs of genuine public spirit lay hid for want of congenial opportunities to develop or to display them. They are not like the showy pebbles and shells on the sea-shore, which often find a place on the fashionable tables, owned by the eccentric or the artistic mad. They are rather like rough diamonds in dark mines, just awaiting the effort of the miner, the lapidary and the furbisher to be brought to light in all their brilliance. My interpretation is amply borne out by the energy, by the zeal, and by the amount of useful industry and learning, which the more recent or younger batch have exhibited, while to the outsider, who has not our materials to judge by, there ought to be a convincing proof in the fact that a great many of those—certainly not rolling in superfluous wealth—have spent not a little of their own money, which they could ill-spare, to attend the Congress, pay their delegates' fees and meet other expenses incidental to long journeys through parts, unknown and inconvenient to them—all this, with a readiness and persistency which are incompatible with any other decent hypothesis. So fit, so earnest, and so anxious did they soon show themselves to be, that a real difficulty arose, far too often, to give them a chance to put forth their usefulness—a difficulty which more than once induced many an older leader to take a back-seat and rejoice in the near prospect of resting on his oars in the confident hope that the launch would be in safe and capable hands. It may not be beside the point to notice, in this connection, how it has become the vogue to judge the Congress on the score of its numerical strength and how foreboding readings of the hypercritical barometer were recorded on some accidental fail in our figures. As it is, the institution has been scoffed at as a microscopic minority. But, with any considerable reduction of numbers, would it not be discredited or railed at as something little better than a mere unsubstantial apparition annually flitting across the eye and passing out into outer darkness, with no solidity or elements of permanence or usefulness about it. Remembering all these, one cannot help holding that the question of reducing numbers is an extremely ticklish question and that it cannot be solved by a rule of the thumb or meddled with in an off-hand or light-hearted manner without muddling it or dwarfing its usefulness. It is nevertheless a problem which has been and is being pressed on us, with an earnestness and pertinacity which ought to command respect and stern attention, by persons who are potent factors in the Congress ranks and who are, besides the very men that have to take up and continue its work in the near future, when the now remaining few older leaders would be laid on the shelf as some already are, like my humble self. When, later on, I come to discuss what departures are necessary or expedient from the now-prevailing plan of action on the part of the Congress, I shall contribute my mite towards the solution of the problem.

As to the other feature, *viz.*, the character of a demonstration which the Congress has assumed, *that* also has been inevitable. Such a character is inseparable from all aggregation of numbers; and, after all, it might be a matter for felicitation rather than for complaint that it has been so. This for two reasons. *First*, we are in an age of demonstrations; and we must conform to the spirit, to the prevailing tendencies, and to the characteristic methods of the times. Secondly, this striking adjunct has had another important, educative effect. It has obtrusively attracted the attention of the people at large. It has roused a general curiosity. It has familiarised the public to the work and aims of the Congress as the result of inquiries, stimulated by that curiosity.

These considerations make one pause and ask oneself whether the work of popularising the Congress by bringing its aims and efforts home to even the unobservant has been sufficiently accomplished, and whether it might now be harmlessly dissociated from the institution, in whole or in part. This also I shall give my own opinion upon, before long. The policy of it was and is intrinsically unexceptionable. Its potency to work out beneficient results, under proper conditions, is undeniable. Of the fact that the Congress, as a demonstration, was beginning to serve a purpose, of the growing importance which attached to it in consequence, and of the latent potentialities for the country's good, which it already partially disclosed and which it bade fair further to develop—of these, the best overt proof, perhaps, is that it was widely noticed, scornfully belittled and spitefully ridiculed by a few among the *paradesi* censors, who elsewhere would perhaps pass for members of what is there properly called the Fourth Estate but, in this country, have really *no locus standi.*

How each session is prepared for and carried on.—First, at the end of each session, the place for the next sitting is announced. This has invariably been a presidential or provincial capital with the two exceptions of Ahmedabad and Benares, the resources of which in men and means, must have indeed been very considerable to vie so successfully as they did with the other centres—though, from a point of view which I shall define and for reasons which I shall set forth bye and bye, it were to be wished that they had not scored as well as they had done. *Secondly,* the place being thus fixed, little or nothing more is done *towards* the ensuing session till about the eve of its coming off. There is, as it were, about a whole year of suspended animation on the part of nearly all the supporters of the Congress, except to force the circulation of *India* and to play the duns in its behalf. *Thirdly,* when the point of time approaches for the session to be held, everybody, as it were, gets galvanised into sudden action, and numerous delegates are elected, *some* of whom alone happen to attend. Exception has been taken to both as to who elect, and as to the result of the election thus conducted. This is, it is alleged, no principle on which the electorate—if I may apply that term to the present case—is based. It is similarly alleged that, as a consequence, the delegates are not clothed with the character of representatives, in the ordinary sense of the term and that many that ought to have been or would have been elected are not available for the work of the Congress. It is, mainly owing to these objections, that a loud demand has arisen for a constitution for the Congress. *Fourthly,* save a few who, like war-horses, are, or are expected to be, always ready and on all topics, and with, perhaps a few more exceptions the delegates that turn up are, as a body, in the dark or rather have only hazy notions as to what topics they would have to give their attention to or grapple with—not to say that they are by no means sure of a chance for them. Nor are many aware or made aware who would be the speakers except a day before. To this an objection is taken, both on the ground that few come with the necessary antecedent study or with the requisite equipment in the shape of books, reports and so forth. The weight of this objection lies in what it plainly implies, *viz.*, that the expositions by the imperfectly prepared speakers are either superficial or below par and are therefore unconvincing—with this further undesirable feature frequently in evidence, that, after the mover, the seconder and supporters repeat or paraphrase him or one another or talk at random, dragging in irrelevant matter to make up a decent speech and thus taking up time but adding little to the facts or the logic bearing on the topic discussed. These are, beyond question, more than imaginary drawbacks. There is nevertheless, small force in the objection, having regard to the obvious fact that the bill of fare, to be placed before the assembled delegates is, pretty nearly the same year after year as it must needs be, so long as the grievances, dwelt upon, remain unredressed, in whole or in part. It is even fairly open to a good guess, more or less, if only people strive to construct a forecast, with a proper appreciation of the events before or around them. It is still a shortcoming which needs to be remedied and as I shall soon show, the remedy is eminently easy. Something of a beginning has been made already more than once. I for one have had experience of the Reception Committees trying, in ample time before the session, to get at the would-be or should-be delegates to choose their topic or accept suggestions as to them, in order to obtain their promises to prepare and to stand sponsor for certain of them. Much success, I know, has not attended these attempts. But the causes of such failures are not difficult to investigate or be provided against. These seem to me to make up, the sum total of the objections that have as yet been raised, as far as I can recollect. To these I shall add one of my own, *viz.*, that the latter-day presidential addresses, with which the Congress work begins, are exhaustively anticipatory of the resolutions to be brought forward and are no less decisive on them, either affirmatively or negatively—with the result that subsequent speakers must either turn mere re-echoes, in perhaps less felicitous language, or must feel embarrassed at having to differ and dissent—an inconvenience, which has been more than once aggravated by the President insisting on some step as most urgent and no longer to be creditably delayed while the Congress either openly overthrew it or silently shelved it. This ought not to be.

At the stage I have now reached, let me sum up categorically (*a*) the facts and notions and (*b*) the objections, noticed by me so far. *As to the facts* and notions, they are as follows. *First*, the Congress began with less than a hundred members and yet carried weight. *Secondly*, if its second session had been held in Madras instead of Calcutta, its numerical strength might possibly not have mounted up so high as it had done. It and its succeeding sessions, following its example, would or should nevertheless have carried weight, in analogy to the many sparsely manned Chambers of Commerce in this and other countries. *Thirdly*, but it did not, despite its enormous growth, in the least suffer in weight or in the regard shown to it. *Fourthly*, Madras in holding the next session had to follow the pattern supplied by the City of Palaces; but (for all that) it sustained no diminution in the importance attaching to it or in the consideration bestowed on it—a fact, which is abundantly borne out by the yet-to-be noticed invitation of its members to a garden-party by her Governor, Lord Connemara. *Fifthly*, at all subsequent sessions the magnitude, given to the Congress at Calcutta, has been studiously maintained up to date and unchecked; and, so far as I am able to see, there was nothing novel or special in the doings or sayings of the Congress, in all these later sessions, which might be particularised as calculated to discredit it or as having detracted from its weight or value. *Sixthly*, whether Calcutta ran up its numbers or not, such a result was bound to follow, sooner or later—certainly some years before now—as the wealth of comparatively younger talent was thronging to our ranks, compelling recognition and challenging respect. *Seventhly*, the Congress had early enough emerged out the character of a mere deliberative body and assumed that of a striking demonstration besides—a character which (by the way) is inseparable from large numbers and not without its value and use in the present age of demonstrations, when truth is not a recognisable truth unless and until proclaimed in a multitudinous and lusty voice.

Let me next summarise the objections that are urged against the Congress as it is. In this summary I have no desire to include what our *paradesi* critics, each as an *amicus humani generis* and in his abundance of *love* and *generosity*, tell us. These are a hard lot to please or rather a lot, hard to please. They are like the dwarf King in a current Telugu story. Go in advance of him when you stroll with him, you are blamed for an assumption of insulting superiority of speed. Go in respectful distance behind him, you are rated as a laggard. Walk in a line with him, you are charged with conceit which aspires to a footing of equality with the royal diminutive. It is therefore meet and discreet to leave these alone, whether they let us alone or not. The objections which we need notice are more or less those that are *bona fide*. I shall state and deal with these *seriatim*.

First, as to the vastness of numbers.—As I have already pointed out, this has been inevitable; and even if it were not accelerated by Calcutta, it was bound to run up a good deal for the one reason alone that men, in whom there was the aptitude, were accumulating fast and were thronging into the ever-widening circle zealously to aid in the national cause. If therefore it were expedient to check it, we should have decided upon it, taking the bull by the horns *long ago* and with both hands. We omitted to do so notwithstanding some more or less pronounced murmurs that we were going adrift or too far ahead, or rather we were heaping up a burden which would non-plus us in later years. I greatly fear that it is now too late and would be too much of a shock and too imprudent to arrest the process by some artificial or arbitrary rule by which alone the task is feasible. It would act like a blanket more than doubly wet, on many who have done us yeoman's service. It would be a species of decimation, too Curzonian to find favour. The fixing of the number of delegates would also involve, by necessary implication, the fixing and formation of electorates on some basal principle—numerical, territorial, or democratic—a work which is hopelessly beset with difficulties, menacing in certain not-improbable combination of circumstances, serious and embarrassing complications leading up to some amount of peril as well to the Congress cause itself. This is indeed an alarming statement, and I nevertheless believe. I can make it good when I come to look the question straight in the face, as I shall have to, presently. In the meantime I have to make a suggestion, as to a fair and silent way out of the difficulty of super-abundant numbers. To my mind it promises to achieve the object, avoiding on the one hand the Scylla of the existing grievance and on the other the Charybdis of a gratuitous disappointment to many that deserve very well of us. It is this. Let us no longer restrict the Congress session to the presidential and provincial capitals or to such eminently resourceful places as Ahmedabad proved to be. Let us on the contrary strive to depart from that unwritten rule of ours as often as we can. The work of the Congress in educating these places has been more than accomplished already. The lesson, if it were ever seriously needed in these centres, has been taught again and again. It is least likely to be forgotten ; and it would be time enough and quite ample, if, once in a lustrum or so, we met at one or other of these places to maintain and sustain the national spirit, or to resuscitate and reinvigorate if it showed signs of fading, which is in the last degree impossible. On such occasions we may have to muster particularly strong, and we certainly will and shall ; for there is abundant material for it and there would be an adequate motive. With this reservation, let us embark on a vigorous policy to pitch our camp and to educate and spread our influence in those numerous minor centres, where the Congress-feeling and Congress-sentiment are said to be either impermanent or nebulous, owing to the impressions not having been produced at first hand or owing to the delegates to the Congress from those places relapsing into or becoming engrossed by their ordinary jogtrot of life. There is no use to tilt at this latter venial and common fault. Most men are, by first or by second nature, lotus-eaters. They have further to live; and it is no heinous sin to be mainly self-centred, with a readiness to be roused to heroic effort as occasion demands. It is rather an uncommonly big draft on the majority to call upon them altogether to starve the self and its belongings in the way of parent, wife and children. It is not easy for many to turn martyrs as is often imagined: if it were, there would be no great merit in martyrdom. No amount of good resolutions could keep up enthusiasm at something like a white-heat. It cannot last—perhaps it *should* fall to normal conditions, if a healthy action of the mental and moral vigour is to be steadily sustained—except perhaps in the care of those exceptional souls who have unfathomable depths of energy and resource and who, like angels, are extremely few and rare. Thus, therefore, it becomes the business of the Congress-leaders to seek out places where the two primary and essential conditions exist, *viz.*, (1) a fairly-intelligent and a decently-large local audience which could be got together, and (2) an easy accessibility at hand. Let a session be held at each of such places, and let it be made clear that the hitherto-example of the Congress would not be followed but that the best that is possible on the spot would only be desiderated or expected.

The numbers would of themselves fall to normal proportions, and reasons for it would be as follows:—*First*, the would-be Reception Committee would on the one hand limit and would feel justified in limiting their efforts for providing accommodation and commissariat for the would-be or should-be delegates. Without vehement appeals from that Committee, now urged on Congressmen at large, many of these latter would, on the other hand, not take extra pains (as now) to avoid disappointing expectations which, *ex-hypothesi*, would be improbable, if not also impossible. The delegates, that would under such circumstances turn up, would be mostly such as are desirable and likely to be most serviceable—a description under which I would not necessarily include the oldest only but the fittest, though more recent accessions and comparatively youthful; for, wherever else youth might be a crime, in patriotic work it ought not to be. Either under the indirect influence of the Congress, or initially in imitation of it, or from the operation of ideas and sentiments, cognate or analogous, not a few such minor centres have already distinguished themselves and given signal proof of their capabilities by having Provincial and District Conferences in them with noteworthy success. These Conferences have also pioneered the way, in a remarkable degree. Congress, in those places, will thus be nothing new or novel. To the naked eye and to the casual observer it would be roughly the identical thing, only on a larger scale, but not the oppressive scale to which the Congress now stands discouragingly pledged—a scale which more than once, deterred people from readily inviting it or cheerfully looking forward to its session in their midst. Let us make this departure. Let us announce it at our next session. Let it be made absolutely clear that the departure is deliberately resolved upon and meant to be persisted in. All fear of comparisons with the bewildering past will disappear; all ambition to come up to that past will be at an end; all will freely breathe, both before and during the session. The feeling will soon settle itself, in the guests and hosts alike, that they will have done their best, if the local audience, at such minor centres, is fully tapped and they pour forth *their full strength.* A gathering, thus called into being, will of course receive its decent complement from different parts of the land. What is now reckoned everybody's business and therefore nobody's business will, under the circumstances proposed, be, by turns, the special business of some few members, in an appreciable degree. The shrinkage in numerical strength will be more than made up for by a solid gain in the main purpose of the Congress—the purpose, *viz.*, of carrying the broad light of day into places where, it is alleged, only a few straggling rays have yet penetrated. What is now railed at as the exhibition, here and there, of a lime-light show will, with the change suggested, settle down into a steady, serviceable, concentrated, and abiding illumination.

As to the objection to the prevailing system of electing delegates:—Before I take up this question I have some remarks to make by way of addition to those, already stated. Some might apprehend that, should the Congress be held in minor centres as I suggested, it might clash with Provincial Conferences, take the wind out of their sail, or shelve them. I do not think it would, or ought to. The Congress and the District Conferences have each distinct functions of their own. Those functions are indeed not capable of a rigid and mutually exclusive trichotomy. They may over-lap one another to some extent as the men and measures, influencing events or governing our affairs are nearly alike, and the results of their action far reaching, far too often. For all that, there is a reasonable way, substantially to trifurcate —a way that cannot be rightly or conveniently enlarged upon here. I shall just roughly indicate the direction by saying that the process of delimitation must begin with the District Conferences and, where there is any doubt, they should have the benefit of it in the shape of *inclusion.* In all cases where any subject is included in the face of marked difference of opinion, the discussion might be somewhat limited, *i.e.*, restricted to the salient points of it, and it might be left to the Provincial Conferences or the Congress, as the case may be, to take it up and thresh it out. A recorded hint or resolution to that effect by the lesser institution should be ordinarily accepted as imposing an obligation on the larger ones. Perhaps a friction of this kind might even help to clear the mind and bring out potentialities of each institution lying dormant or only dimly deciphered under existing conditions. I may also observe, in passing, that the limitation in numbers, the saving it would effect especially in respect of the Congress paraphernalia and the more complete and more enduring infusion of the Congress-spirit, which would ensue throughout a district or a cluster of contiguous districts would considerably diminish the force of the now-prevailing, uneasy (though unexpressed) feeling that, as things have gone on, the results achieved by the Congress sessions either by each separately or by all of them cumulatively have not been tangible enough as recompense for the drain on their resources. If only a less sense of discontent and of despair and a greater degree of alacrity would be the outcome of the experiment proposed, it is worth being zealously and energetically tried.

Now I shall proceed to consider the objection which is the last special sub-heading. Putting it roughly, there are three ways in which one may be said to be a spokesman for others, *viz.*, (1) by the terms of a statute; (2) by people voluntarily accepting for their guidance some method or principle defined or devised in analogy to a statute, and (3) by the spokesman and those of whom he claims to be the spokesman representing a common idea or professing allegiance to a common *shibboleth*—he being more prominent and his putting himself forward, being therefore acquiesced in by others on his platform or of his political creed. The last is the most prevalent method which people adopt and have adopted when left to themselves. With the people of this country in particular, it has been the traditional mode of representation in matters of business as in all important matters in the affairs of life—not to say that it is also the method for families attending at marriages, at funerals and at all other auspicious or inauspicious events in each other's households. It is, besides, a method by no means unenlightened; for what else, for an instance, is the principle which justifies or is illustrated by a Dr. Miller, a Dr. Guruduss Bannerjee or a Father Sewell being put on an Education Commission. In this and hosts of like cases in which a like method is uniformly pursued the explanation, to my mind, is that they are there, as representing each a particular idea or a particular interest, without a show of hands in approval. This has tacitly been the method of representation observed in the case of delegates to the Congress, at first and for some years. The delegates that had come up were not undesirables or incapables, to be sure. But the practice has been introduced in later years of elections at meetings held for the purpose or by associations of varying periods and degrees of standing, which have more recently sprung up. I, for one, am a stout believer in a person being a spokesman of others by representing an idea or an interest in common with them and by his claim being good enough when virtually acquiesced in by those others, at any rate till expressly repudiated by them. For my part—let me repeat—I should have been quite content with the method we began with, for this reason, if not also for others, that even when a new *modus operandi* was adopted the self-same men were chosen—a circumstance which shows that, in coming forward as spokesmen in the earlier years, they but rightly guessed or answered the wishes of others of their political creed—although some, whom we might well ignore, will persist in asserting, what I shall by and by show to be positively untrue, that the delegates were self-constituted and that no one had the least idea of what they were doing. It is my opinion that, when this initial and traditional method was departed from, we gave ourselves away. By adopting the modern method, *i.e.*, the mode of election at meetings or by associations, we laid ourselves open to the new mode being cavilled at on the ground that the meetings and associations themselves originated in a haphazard way and were not ultimately based on an elective principle. Be this as it may, the question is "do we stand committed to bring in some system of electing delegates or rather to create some number of rigidly defined electorates and, if so, on what, basis, *i. e.*, whether on an educational or a property" qualification or on a numerical basis? I confess we are. This may be attempted from the top downwards or from bottom upwards. For the former, there is justification in the fine well-known argumentative simile of Macaulay regarding sun's rays first lighting mountain tops and then descending gradually to valleys below. For the latter there is warrant in the theories of the modern radical democrat. The former has invariably and immemorially been the initial and tentative plan here and everywhere else, while the latter is most modern, aiming at a final method exhaustive of all adults in all classes and grades, old enough to hold a suffrage. This latter acme of perfection has not yet been reached even in the land of our present rulers—a circumstance which ought to lower the steam in those who are boiling over with notions of pulling up the Congress, root and branch, and constituting it on a more or less radical basis, not stopping till every villager is the ultimate unit or voter. I am for the former plan, *i. e.*, of beginning at the top and going down, step by step, strata by strata.

I have given it as my opinion that, out of the two ways of constructing an electorate, *viz.* (1) from the top downwards and (2) from the bottom upwards, I preferred the former as the more expedient in existing circumstances. I did not, of course, mean that we had yet to make a beginning; for the plan, pursued for some years now, has just been that very thing, rough-hewn indeed, but requiring to be shaped into desirable or practical fitness by a few modifications, such, for instance, as indicated below, as regards the Madras Presidency. I would accept the District Associations which at present exist, and which, wherever they exist, have become permanent institutions, more or less active all round the year. I would insist upon a complete set of them, *i. e.*, their creation in all districts without exception, and their location in the capitals of the districts as the most suitable. I would next enlarge each one of them to the fullest elasticity it is capable of. The nucleus of these—despite what croakers and cavillers might say to the contrary must needs be formed, as everywhere else in the civilised world, by lawyers, schoolmasters and other citizens who have received a decent amount of education (English education in the present case); for they are the classes most prone and most prompt to appreciate the value of combined action in the present day, having regard to the long hiatus of years during which, from despair and disuse alike, the lessons and practices of our remote Aryan forefathers to even the man in the street have non-essed. The new members of the nuclei, thus constituted, must steadily strive to infuse the national spirit into the leading merchants, house-holders and others of that status and bring them into their ranks, so that, outside their influence, there might be few that would be gallios. This consummation is easily accomplished as all these classes are in almost daily touch with the men who, on my plan, would form the central body. These might, of course, be supplemented by the inclusion (as members) of such as are the energetic spirits and the shining lights in the many flourishing subordinate cities, except, no doubt, in cases in which the subordinate cities themselves find within their limits enough public spirit and suitable material, in the shape of men and means, to form separate or independent associations of their own to work all through the year. On what principle these associations themselves should be constituted—whether on educational or property qualification or on the basis of population—it is not possible for an outsider to dogmatise. There is no one procrustean method worthy of recommendation or acceptance all round. Each must be left to decide for itself. I, for one, think that, without formulating one or other of these principles as the sole test of fitness, they may be severally taken into mental account in accepted members, the paramount consideration being the unmistakable presence of sufficient grit, spirit, and aptitude to aid in selfless work. The District Associations and the lesser associations in the subordinate centres in the district must, for the respective areas they represent—at least for years to come—elect delegates for the Congress. In a word, I am for *an institutional electorate*, if I reap corn'—it is the sacred abode of the gods, the spirits of their forefathers: to them the Emperor is the bodily representative of heaven on earth, blending in his person its power and its mercy. The essential principles of *Bushido* and from which it formed itself were few and simple. Foremost in the list comes Rectitude, or Justice, which was by far the most weighty precept in the code.

> Rectitude is the power of deciding upon a certain course of conduct in accordance with reason, without wavering; to die when it is right to die, to strike when to strike is right. Rectitude is the bone that gives firmness and stature. As without bones the head cannot rest on the top of the spine, nor hands move, nor feet stand: so without Rectitude neither talent nor learning can make of a human frame a *samurai*. With it the lack of accomplishments is as nothing.

Even to the very last day of Feudalism the title of *Gishi* (a man of rectitude) was considered superior to any other title.

Differing slightly from Rectitude was *Giri*, literally Right Reason, which came to mean the duty one owes to parents, superiors, to inferiors, to society at large, and so on. Filial piety was one of most striking instances of *Giri*.

We come now to Courage, which, however, was scarcely considered worthy to rank as a virtue, unless it was employed in the cause of righteousness. Confucius defines Courage by explaining in his usual negative way what it is not. 'Perceiving what is right, and doing it not, argues lack of courage.' A strong distinction was made between mere physical and moral courage. 'Great valour' in Japan meant moral courage and the title of 'the courage of a villain' was bestowed upon mere physical bravery.

Following Courage comes Benevolence and the feeling of Piety. Love, Magnanimity, Affection for others, Sympathy and Mercy were always recognised as supreme virtues, the highest of all the attributes of the human soul. Even in the rough fighting days of Feudalism mercy was not too rare. *Bushi no nasake*—'the tenderness of a warrior'—was considered superior to ordinary tenderness or mercy, since it implied mercy where it recognised due regard to justice also. The young soldier was taught to practice music and to make poetry, not the music of trumpet or of drum, but the soft melody of stringed instruments, while the verses of the warriors dealt with the beauties of nature or the singing of birds, rather than of battle or of death. Professor Nitobe says of this:

What Christianity has done in Europe towards arousing compassion in the midst of belligerent horrors, love of music and letters has done in Japan. The cultivation of tender feelings breeds considerate regard for the sufferings of others.

Politeness and respect for the feelings of others were insisted upon by all the followers of *Bushido*, although they were not considered as being in the front rank of virtues.

Bushido brought into great prominence the value of Veracity or Truthfulness. What teaching could be more fine than that of the old poet of Japan, who said: 'To thyself be faithful; if in thy heart thou strayest not from truth, without prayer of thine, the gods will keep thee whole.'

But it is interesting to find that there was not any command against bearing false witness, neither was lying condemned as sin; it was simply denounced as dishonourable. And honour was one of the great, if not the very greatest, virtues.

A good name being assumed as a matter of course, any stain upon its intergrity was felt as shame, and the sense of shame (*Ren chi shin*) was one of the earliest to be cherished in juvenile education. 'You will be laughed at,' 'It will disgrace you,' 'Are you not ashamed?' were the last appeals to be made to correct the behaviour on the part of the youthful delinquent. Such an appeal to his honour touched the most sensitive spot in the child's heart, as though it had been nursed in honour in its mother's womb. Indeed, the sense of shame seems to be the earliest indication of moral consciousness.

That man was right who refused to compromise his character by a slight humiliation in his youth: 'because,' he said, 'dishonour is like a scar on a tree, which time instead of effacing only helps to enlarge.'

(*To be concluded.*)

HINDU CIVILIZATION: A STATEMENT AND A REJOINDER.

[BY MR. HAR BILAS SARDA, B.A., F.R.S.L., M.R.A.S., F.S.S.]

IN a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*, an "Indian Nationalist," in an article on the "Proposed Hindu University," makes certain observations on Hindu religion and Hindu civilization, which are not only unjustifiable and untrue but likely to do harm, if allowed to pass unchallenged. As I have not had the benefit of reading the "Prospectus of a Proposed Hindu University," I am unable to express an opinion upon the merits or the demerits of the proposal. But there is no doubt that Mr. Malaviya is inspired by the same honourable motive in making his proposal, as the "Indian Nationalist" in opposing it—a desire to serve India.

The "Indian Nationalist" demurs to the view, that "the action or the inaction of the Government is not one of the important causes of their (Hindus') decay," and relies for support of his opinion on the writings of Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, the late Mr. Digby and on the resolutions passed and the speeches delivered at the meetings of the Indian National Congress. But surely the decay of the Hindus dates from long before the advent of the Britishers into India. For seven centuries, the Hindus, as a people, were under the yokes successively of the Pathans, the Lodis, the Khiljis, the Tughlaks, and the Moghals. If, being at the mercy of every fresh invader who chose to invade the country, remaining silent sufferers, and bending their knees to every masterful adventurer who turned his thoughts to India, are not proofs of decay and a thorough decay of the people, we do not know what else can be. The national decay of the Hindus began centuries before the advent of the Europeans into India: their humiliation, suffering and distress were complete before the sceptre was wrested from the hands of the Moghals: they must have already reached the lowest point of degradation, when the atrocities of their rulers became possible. As Professsor MaxMuller says it was only "when England stepped in and made the broad principle of our common humanity respected once more in India"[1] that we have got some breathing time, to look about us and see where we are, where we were, whither the forces of the current events are taking us, where we wish to go, and what are the necessary means to enable us to reach our goal.

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(1) *India, What can it Teach us*, p. 54.

The second point with which the "Indian Nationalist" deals, refers to what he calls "the idealised picture of the ancient Hindu civilization—which has been painted for us in the pamphlet," and which he refuses to accept as real. "The picture," he says, "does credit to the heart of the writer, but it is not faithful." Then follow a series of allegations, each one of which is based on an ignorance of Hindu literature and Hindu polity. Before dealing with them, let us see what the European scholars, after years of study and patient research, think of the nature of the Hindu civilization and the people who evolved that civilization.

We learn that "the Hindu is the parent of the literature and the theology of the world"[1] that his language Sanskrit, "is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exclusively refined than either"[2]. And that "it combines those various qualities possessed separately by other tongues, Grecian copiousness, deep-toned Roman force and the divine afflatus, characterising the Hebrew tonguge"[3]. We learn that the grammar of the Sanskrit language is "one of the most wonderful achievements of human invention and industry"[4]; and that "no other country can produce any grammatical system at all comparable to it either for originality of plan or analytical subtlety"[5]. We learn that what remains of the Hindu literature after centuries of neglect and repression, is "larger than those of Greece and Rome combined"[6]; that "the treasures of poetry in India are inexhaustible"[7]; that "the noblest of epics"[8], (Ramayana) and "the grandest of epic poems"[9] (Mahabharata), are the products of the Hindu brain; that these two epics "are the sources of the Homeric poems and of Dionysus of Wounus"[10]; that "nowhere is love expressed with greater force or pathos than in the poetry of the Hindus"[11]; that "the poetry of no other nation exhibits in such a striking manner the didactic characters as that of the Hindus"[12]; and that the best

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(1) Mr. W. D. Brown in the *Daily Tribune*, Salt Lake City, for 20th February, 1884.

(2) See Sir W. Jones's Works.

(3) Schlegel's *History of Literature*, p. 106.

(4) Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Art., India, p. 214.

(5) Professor Monier William's *Indian Wisdom*, p. 172.

(6) MaxMuller's *India, What can it Teach us*, p. 84.

(7) Max Dunker's *History of Antiquity*, Volume IV, p. 27.

(8) Schlegel's *History of Literature*.

(9) Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris in a letter, dated 17th March, 1888, to Babu P. C. Roy.

(10) *Asiatic Researches*, Volume IX, p. 93.

(11) Manning's *Ancient and Mediæval India*, Volume II, p. 148.

(12) Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Volume II, p. 197.

known Hindu dramatist, Kalidasa, the author of "that astonishing literary performance," *Sakuntala*, was not only "one of the greatest dramatists, the world has ever produced," but "is a poet who has done honour not merely to his own nation but to all civilized mankind"[1].

We learn that "in the composition of tales and fables, the Hindus appear to have been the instructors of the rest of mankind"[2]. We learn that "the Hindus were a nation of philosophers"[3]; that "Hindu philosophy exhausted all the possible solutions of the problems of thought, being, of mind and matter, free will, necessity and of most of the other great problems which have since perplexed Greeks, Romans, mediæval schoolmen and modern men of science"[4]; that "Hindu philosophy is so comprehensive that counterparts of all systems of European philosophy are to be found in it"[5]; that "India was visited for the purpose of acquiring knowledge by Pythagoras, Anoxarchus, Pyrrho, Thales etc., who afterwards became eminent philosophers in Greece"[6]. We learn that "the views of the modern physiologists at the present day are a return with new light to the evolution theory of Kapila, whose Sankhya system is the oldest of the *darsans*"[7]. We learn also, that "of all religions the Hindu religion is the only one whose ideas are in complete harmony with modern science," that, "India is the mother of religions" and that, "in Hinduism are combimed science and religion in perfect harmony"[8]; that the fountain head of the Hindu religion, the Veda, "is the most subline conception of the great Highways of Humanity"[9]; and that, "there is no monument of Greece or Rome more precious than the Rig Veda"[10].

We find that, the Hindus were as eminent in science as in grammar, poetry, or philosophy, that, "the Hindu literature is a scientific and a poetic literature"[11]; that "almost every science was cultivated by the Hindus"[12]; and that "in science,

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(1) Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Volume II.

(2) Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 156-157.

(3) Professor MaxMuller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 31.

(4) Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Art: "India," p. 213-214.

(5) Dr. Alexander Duff.

(6) Dr. Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, Volume I, p. 65.

(7) Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, Art, "India," p. 214.

(8) Mrs. Besant's Lecture at the Grand Theatre, Calcutta, on 15th January, 1906.

(9) Guignault.

(10) Mons. Leon Delbos, in his paper on the Vedas read before the International Literary Association at Paris on 14th July, 1884.

(11) Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol II.

(12) Ward's *Mythology of the Hindus*.

we find the Hindus as acute and diligent as ever"[1]. We find that the "Hindu Medicine dealt with the whole range of the science"[2]; that "the science of medicine originated in India and was first exported from India to Arabia and thence to Europe"[3]; that "the ancient Hindus used animal vaccination secured by transmission of the smallpox virus through the cow, and that Jenner's great discovery was actually forestalled by the ancient Hindus"[4]. We find Lord Ampthill saying: "Now we are beginning to find out that the Hindu *shastras* also contain a sanitary code no less correct in principle and that the great lawgiver Manu, was one of the greatest sanitary reformers the world has ever seen"[5]; we learn that, "in surgery, the Indians seem to have attained a special proficiency and in this department, European Surgeons might perhaps *even at the present day* still learn something from them, as indeed they have already borrowed from them the operation of rhinoplasty"[6]; and that, "their surgical instruments were sufficiently sharp indeed so as to be capable of dividing a hair longitudinally"[7]. In fact, we learn that "Indian medicine both of the Hindus and the Mohamedans is superior to the medicine of the West"[8]. We learn that, "the Hindus invented the decimal cyphers, the honour of which, next to letters, the most important of human discoveries, has with the common consent of historical authorities been ascribed to the Hindus"[9]. We learn that "to the Hindus is due the invention of Algebra and Geometry and their application to Astronomy"[10]. We learn that, "Arya Bhatta and his successors press hard upon the discoveries of algebraists who lived almost in our own time"[11]; and that, their geometrical skill is shown by their knowledge of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle, which proportion, now confirmed by the most approved labors of the Europeans, was not known out of India until modern times"[12]. We learn that, "the knowledge of the twelve signs of

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(1) Elplinstone's *History of India*, p. 133.
(2) Sir W. Hunter's *Indian Gazetteer*, Art, "India", p. 220.
(3) Lord Ampthill's speech at the opening of the King Institute of Preventive Medicine at Madras.
(4) Lord Ampthill's speech at Madras.
(5) Ditto ditto,
(6) Weber's *Indian Literature*, p., 270.
(7) Manning's *Ancient and Mediæval India*, Vol II, p. 346.
(8) Mrs. Besant (at Calcutta) on 15th January, 1906.
(9) Schlegel's *History of Literature*, p. 123.
(10) Professor Sir Monier William's *Indian Wisdom*, p. 185.
(11) Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 131.
(12) Ditto ditto, p. 129.

the Zodiac was derived from India "[1], that "the Brahmin obtains his result with wonderful certainty and expedition in Astronomy "[2]. We learn that the "Indian tables give the same annual variation of the Moon as that discovered by Tycho Brahe, a variation unknown to the school of Alexandria and also to the Arabs, who followed the calculations of that school "[3]. We learn that "proofs of very extraordinary proficiency in their astronomical writings are found "[4]. We learn that, "the theory of gravitation was known to the Hindus centuries before Newton was born" [5]; that the diurnal and the annual [illegible] principles than our own (English)"[7]. We learn that, "Hindu music appears to have attained a theoretical precision yet unknown to Europe "[8]; that, "the Hindu system of music as a written science is the oldest in the world " [9]. We are told that, even now, "the Hindu has the most subtle ear for time and a more *delicate perception of shades of difference* than the generality of English people *can acquire*; an acuteness of musical hearing, which also makes it possible for him to recognise and reproduce quarter and half tones when singing and playing "[10]. We learn not only that "the invention of nearly all the Science of music was attributed in Greece to India "[11], but that, in more recent times, "the Hindu notation passed through the Persians to the Arabs and was thence introduced into European music by Guide d'Arezzo at the beginning of the 11th century"[12].

Peace hath her victories as well as war. And we learn that the Hindus were as pre-eminent in the latter as in the former. We learn that "all the traditions of the Hindus are filled with

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(1) Robertson's *Disquisition concerning India*, p. 280.

(2) Playfair on "The Astronomy of the Hindus," *Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society* of G. B. & I., Vol. II, p. 138-39.

(3) Count Bjornstjerna's *Theogony of the Hindus*, p. 36.

(4) Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 129.

(5) See Aryabhatta.

(6) Mrs. Anna C. Wilson's *Short Account of Hindu Music*, p. 5.

(7) Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, Preface.

(8) Colonel Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.

(9) Mrs. Anna C. Wilson's *Hindu Music*.

(10) Mrs. A. C. Wilson's *Hindu Music*.

(11) See Strabo. Also Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 569.

(12) Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*; Art. "India," p. 223.

war"[1]. We learn that, "there was a naval department in addition to the others in the Indian army"[2]. We read of a "flying ball emitting the sound of a thunder cloud, which Scholiast is express in referring to artillery"[3]. We see that, "Themistius mentions the Brahmins fighting at a distance with lightnings and thunder"[4]. We learn that Brahmastra, Shataghati, Sahashraghati and Nhulat jantra which are "guns, rifles and cannons of sorts were used"[5]. We learn that "rockets which were unknown in Europe till recently, appear to be of Indian invention, and had long been used in Native Armies"[6]. Mr. Elliot, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India in 1849 wrote:—"We may conclude that fire arms of some kind were used in the early stages of Indian history; that the missiles were explosive; and that the time or [illegible] projectiles were [illegible] learn that, the Hindus were masters of "Ashtar Vidya" which consisted in annihilating the hostile army by enveloping and suffocating it in different layers and masses of atmospheric air charged and impregnated with different substances"[9]. We learn lastly that "the Hindus navigated the air and fought battles in it"[10].

Whether we look to the physical qualities of the ancient Hindus or to their mental and moral qualifications, we find them equally pre-eminent. "The body of the Hindu is admirably proportioned" and "there is not a handsomer race in the world than the Banians of Gujrat"[11]. "The Hindu has an acuteness of sense particularly of touch which is altogether unrivalled and the flexibility of his fingers is equally remarkable"[12]. "The hand of the Indian cook-wench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty. The skin and features of a porter shall be softer than that of a professed *petit maitre*"[13].

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(1) Captain Troyer on the Ramayana in the *Asiatic Journal* for October, 1844, p. 514.
(2) Strabo. See also Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol II, p. 218.
(3) Bopp. Also Theodore Benfy, *Indian*, p. 239.
(4) Orat, xxvii, p. 337.
(5) Halheld's *Code of Gentoo Laws*.
(6) Professor Wilson's *Art of War amongst the Hindus*.
(7) Elliot's *Historians of India*, part I.
(8) Elliot's *Historians of India*, part I, p. 370.
(9) Col. Olcott's Lecture on "India, Past and Present."
(10) Colonel Olcott's Lecture on "India" in 1884.
(11) Orme's *Hindostan*.
(12) Mill's *History of British India*, Vol. II, p. 17.
(13) Orme's *Hindostan*, pp. 409 and 413.

There is no better or more decisive evidence of the high refinement of a nation than its arts. And in many of the arts, the ancient Hindus have never yet been equalled.

"We learn that, "in fineness of texture, the Indian cotton cloth has *never yet been approached in any country*"[1]. We learn that "its (India's) fabrics are the most beautiful that human art has anywhere produced"[2]. We learn that "the modern art of Europe with all the aid of its wonderful machinery has never yet rivalled in beauty, the product of the Indian loom"[3].

We learn that, "the remains of their architectural art might furnish the architects of Europe with new ideas of beauty and sublimity"[4]. With regard to sculpture, "we find every embellishment that the most fertile fancy could devise, the arabesques, the running patterns of plants and creepers in particular are often of an elegance scarcely equalled in any other part of the world"[5]. We learn that the "English decorative art in our day has largely borrowed from Indian forms and patterns. The delicate marble tracery and flat wood carving of Western India, the harmonious blending of forms and colours in the fabrics of Kashmir *have contributed to the restoration of taste in England*"[6]. We learn that "the brilliancy and permanence of many of the dyes (of India) have not yet been equalled in Europe"[7]. We find Europeans conscious of their inferiority exclaiming: "We must not attempt to teach art to India"[8], and that "art seems to have exhausted itself"[9]. In India.

We also learn that "India was once the seat of commerce"[10], and that "the Hindus have ever been a commercial people"[11]. We learn that the whole of the ancient world was the trade market of India, that even distant Rome complained that the annual drain into India in return for her valuable produce reached the immense amount of 550 millions of sesterces"[12]. We learn that "India has been celebrated from the earliest times for its immense riches" and that the most famous diamonds are all of Indian origin.

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(1) Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 163-64.
(2) Murray's *History of India*, p. 27.
(3) *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, Art., *Weaving* p. 446.
(4) Coleman's *Hindu Mythology*, Preface, p. ix.
(5) Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 160.
(6) Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer* : Art, India, p. 225.
(7) Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 164.
(8) Heeren's *Ancient and Mediæval India*, Vol. II, p. 363.
(9) Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 704.
(10) *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, Vol. XI, p. 446.
(11) *Ancient and Mediæval India*, Vol. II, p. 354.
(12) See Pliny, also *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, XII, p. 460.

We learn that "no nation on earth can vie with the Hindus in respect of the antiquity of their civilization and the antiquity of their religion"[1]. We learn that "the Hindus were as numerous as all the other nations put together"[2]. We learn that every Indian was *free*, in ancient times"[3], and that there were no thieves"[4], and that "no one in India was ever known to tell a lie"[5]. We learn that, not only will "the Hindu code bear comparison with the celebrated digest of Justinian or with the systems of jurisprudence in nations most highly civilized", but that it is a fact that "whoever looks into any particular title will be surprized with a minuteness of detail and nicety of distinction which in many instances seem to go beyond the attention of European legislation"[6]; that the Hindus "carry their feeling of honour to a pitch that would be considered in England more fit for a page of romance than a history"[7]. We learn that "the annals of no nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion than those of the Rajputs"[8]. We learn that, "there is not a petty State in Rajputana that has not had its own Thermopylæ and scarcely a city, that has not produced its Leonidas"[9], and that, "compared with the armies of the Pandus, the army of Xerxes would have dwindled into insignificance"[10]. We learn that, "the Emperor Sudas had conquered the whole world"[11]; that "the naval supermacy of the Hindus was acknowledged by all nations and that the Indian king, Bali, ruled over an empire extending from Palestine to Australia; that, Maharaja Sagarji, still worshipped as "the God of the Sea" by the natives of the isles of the Indian Archipelago, was a great naval commander"[12]; and that, the Hindus planted colonies all over Asia. We also learn that after the Mahabharata, "the mighty human tide that passed the barrier of the Punjab, rolled onwards towards its destined channel in Europe, and in Asia, to fulfil its beneficient office in the moral fertilization of the world"[13]. We learn that the ancient map of Persia, Colchis and Armenia is absolutely full of the most

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(1) Bjornstjerna's *Meogony of the Hindus*, p. 50.
(2) Strabo.
(3) Arrian, Indica, Cap. X.
(4) See Strabo, lib XV, p. 488.
(5) Arrian, *Indica*, Cap XII.
(6) Robertson's *Disquisition Concerning India*, Appendix, p, 217.
(7) Sir J. Malcolm in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. See Mill's *India*, Vol. 1, p. 525.
(8) Col. Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 613.
(9) Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, Preface, p. xvi.
(10) Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. 1, Preface, p. xvi.
(11) *Journal of the R. A. Society*, Vol. XX, p. 732.
(12) Sir Stamford Raffles' *Java*.
(13) Pococke's *India in Greece*, p. 26.

distant and startling evidence of Indian colonization "[1]. We learn about Greece that "not only her language, but her philosophy, her religion, her rivers, her mountains and her tribes, her subtle turn of intellect, her political institutes and above all the mysteries of that noble land, irresistibly prove her colonization from India "[2]. We learn that "the great heroes of India are the gods of Greece" and that "this same process of deification both among the Greeks, and the Romans—the descendants of colonists from India—continued especially among the latter people down to and throughout the most historical periods "[3]. We learn that, "geographical evidences conjoined to historical fact and religious practices prove beyond all dispute that the two latter countries (Egypt and Greece) are the colonies of the former (India)".[4] We learn that the remote "Hyperboreans were Hindus"[5]; and that "the Druids were the bards of the ancient Rajputs"[6]; that "the Ethiopians were an Indian race"[7], and that "the Chinese assert their Hindu origin"[8]. We learn that "the colonization of Java by the Brahmins is a fact well established by Sir Stamford Raffles"; and we learn that, "Hindu remains are still found in America"[9].

We thus learn that the ancient Hindus were great in literature, great in science, great in arts, great in religion, great politically, great socially, and great commercially, and all this without any foreign assistance. We have yet to learn what other nation, ancient or modern, claims to be great in so many departments of human activity.

It is a pity that the "Indian Nationalist," dismisses the enormous influence which the character of Rama has exercised and continues to exercise in the formation of Hindu character with the lame remark "Dasartha *may* have been a very good man and Rama a *very obedient son*." And yet Principal Griffith has not only the fairness but the intellectual acumen and judicial discrimination based on a wide acquaintance with the literatures of various nations, to admit that "the Ramayana may well challenge the literature of every age and country to produce a poem that can boast of such *perfect characters as a Rama* and Sita." "What should we say,"

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(1) Pococke's *India in Greece*, p. 107.
(2) Ditto ditto p. 19.
(3) Ditto ditto p. 142.
(4) Ditto ditto p. 74.
(5) Ditto ditto p. 129.
(6) Ditto ditto p. 114.
(7) *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 426.
(8) S. W. Jones quoted by Col Tod in his *Rajasthan*, Vol I, p. 57.
(9) Baron von Humboldt. See Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 530.

asks the "Indian Nationalist," "of the political capabilities of a people who allowed the headship of their State to be made the plaything of a woman's whims?" Ignoring for the sake of argument the real fact that the banishment of Rama was not a woman's whim but the deliberate, thought-out policy of the queen, and the success of the manœuvre, a proof of the influence of women in contemporary politics; may we ask what should we say of the political capabilities of a people who allow the headship of their State—the most powerful and enlightened in Europe—to be held by an Emperor William who is never tired of brandishing before their faces in season and out of season, the divine right of the Hohenzollerns to rule; or, of the most advanced and go-ahead people of the present day who allow themselves to be ruled by the Tamanay bosses. Has the "Indian Nationalist" forgotten the part, the *la femines* of Paris played in the affairs of the Second Empire?

The "Indian Nationalist" further on asks, "on what grounds of justice or fairness" is it possible for our orthodox friends to defend the inhuman treatment of the Sudras." What inhuman treatment of the Sudras, may I ask? The "Indian Nationalist" is evidently labouring under the belief sought to be propagated by the detractors of the Hindus, like James Mill, who, to serve certain ends, had recourse to every device to misrepresent the Hindus, as is clear from an hour's study of that monument of his enmity towards our race—his *History of British India* and of which Professor Max-Müller says:—"The book which I consider most mischievous, nay, which I hold responsible for some of the greatest misfortunes that have happened in India is Mill's *History of India*, even with the antidote against its poison which is supplied by Professor Wilson's notes"[1]. The inhuman treatment of the Sudras is a product of the imagination of writers, either ignorant of or inimical to the Hindus. Even the Greek writers, who saw Hindu society before it came under foreign influence of any kind, observed that there were no slaves in India[2]. Arrian mentions "with admiration that every Indian was free. With them, as with the Lacedmonians," he says, "no native can be a slave; but unlike the Lacedemonians they keep no other people in servitude," and that there was no class in India that could be compared to the slaves of Greece. The Sudras or persons born of Sudra parents were free in ancient India to acquire any kind of learning they wished, and to follow any profession they liked. They rose to affluence and high rank. There was no bar to their attaining the highest positions in the State. It is nothing short of slander to say that "the

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(1) *India, What can it Teach us*, p. 42.

(2) Indica, Chapter X.

Hindu social system scarcely treated its lowest castes as human beings." Let us listen to what Professor H. H. Wilson says:—

> The condition of a Sudra, in the Hindu system, was infinitely preferable to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems. *He was independent, his services were optional*: they were not agricultural, but domestic and personal, and claimed adequate compensation. He had the power of accumulating wealth, or injunctions against his doing so would have been superfluous. He had the opportunity of rising to rank, for the Puranas record dynasties of Sudra kings; and even Manu notices their existence, IV, 61.—He might, as we have seen above, study and teach religious knowledge, and he might perform religious acts. 'As a Sudra, without injuring another man, performs the lawful acts of the twice born, even thus, without being censured he gains exaltation in this world and the next.' Manu, X, 128. See also verses 121 to 131 an, Vishnu Purana, 292, and note"[1].

"The door of knowledge," says the "Indian Nationalist," "was closed against them and the direst penalties were pronounced against him who dared to open it," and that the "Hindu social system is a system whose foundations are laid on the accident of birth and which debars millions of human beings from all higher religious and spiritual knowledge." This is another mischievous and false belief propagated by its enemies to descredit Hinduism. Mr. Shyamji Krisna Varma, who attended the International Congress of Orientalists at Berlin in 1881 A. D., as delegate of the Secretary of State for India, in his paper on "Sanskrit as a Living Language in India," says:—

> "On the contrary, there is ample evidence in the Vedas, the Brahmanas, Upanishads, and in the Sutra works to show that Sanskrit was the common property of all men without distinction of caste or creed. The social and religious institutions of the Indian Aryas, who spoke Sanskrit, were open to all persons who desired knowledge, and instances are not wanting where men of the lowest caste have risen to a most exalted position. We read in the Aitreya Brahmana (II. 3., 19), for example, that Kavasha Ailusha, who was a Sudra and son of a low woman, was greatly respected for his literary attainments, and admitted into the class of Rishis. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of his life is that he, Sudra as he was, distinguished himself as the Rishi of some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda (Rig., X. 30-34). It is distinctly stated in the Chandogyopanishad that Jabala, who is otherwise called Satyakama, had no "gotra," or family name whatever (Cham-Upa, IV. 4); all that we know about his parentage is that he was the son of a woman named Jabala, and that he is called after his mother. Though born of unknown parents, Jabala is said to have been the founder of a school of the Yajur-Veda. Even in the Apastamha-sutra (II. 5-10) and the Manu-Smirti (X. 65) we find that a Sudra can become a Brahmana and Brahmana can become a Sudra, according to their good or bad deeds. There is an important hymn in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Sukla Yajur-Veda (xxvi 2), which enjoins that the Brahamans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras, and even the menials of the lowest rank should propagate the sacred and auspicious language of the Vedas. Such an explicit statement in our scriptures leaves no room for supposing that the Vedas

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(1) Mill's *India*, Vol I, p. 194.

were intended exclusively for the Brahmanas." Manu (ii, 238) too says, "A believer in scripture may receive pure knowledge even from a Sudra."

Nothing is farther from the truth than the assertion of the "Indian Nationalist" that "the system was based on the apotheosis of blood and sex." The cases of Valmiki and Viswamitra alone are sufficient to refute this assertion. Colonel Tod in refutation of the theory that the system was founded on blood, says: "In the early ages of these solar and lunar dynasties, the priestly office was not hereditary in families; it was a profession and the genealogies exhibit frequent instances of branches of these races, terminating their martial career in the commencement of a religious sect or Gotra and of their descendants re-assuming their warlike occupation." The astounding assertion that the social system of the Hindus refuses to admit the brotherhood of man, even in theory, in the face of the well-known Sloka,

अयं निजः परो वेति गणना लघुचेतसाम् ।
उदारचरितानान्तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ॥

not only betrays an ignorance of Hindu society and Hindu literature, but is one of the mischievous results of the modern education imparted to Hindus on non-national lines.

The democratic ideas of the West, of which the "Indian Nationalist" seems to be so enamoured, are not by any means proofs of high development of the political capabilities of a people. It is neither democracy nor autocracy that ensures good government. It is the character of a people formed on ethical and altruistic principles or otherwise, that determines the useful or the baneful character of government. Witness, for instance, the treatment of the emancipated negroes at the polls in the *democratic* United States of America. Mr. Herbert Spencer says: –

> "There has grown up quite naturally, and indeed almost inevitably among civilized peoples, an identification of freedom with the political appliances established to maintain freedom. The two are confused together in thought; or, to express the fact more correctly, they have not yet been separated in thought. In most countries during past times, and in many countries at the present time, experience has associated in men's minds the unchecked power of a ruler with extreme coercion of the ruled. Contrariwise, in countries where the people have acquired some power, the restraints on the liberties of individuals have been relaxed; and with advance towards government by the majority, there has, on the average, been a progressing abolition of laws and removal of burdens which unduly interfered with such liberties. Hence, by contrast, popularly governed nations have come to be regarded as free nations; and possession of political power by all is supposed to be the same thing as freedom. But the *assumed identity of the two is a delusion*–delusion, which like many other delusions, results from confounding means with ends. Freedom in its absolute form is the absence of all external checks to whatever actions the will prompts; and freedom in its socially-

restricted form is the absence of any other external checks than those arising from the presence of other men who have like claims to do what their wills prompt. The mutual checks hence resulting are the only checks which freedom, in the true sense of the word, permits. The sphere within which each may act without trespassing on the like spheres of others, cannot be intruded upon by any agency, private or public, without an equivalent loss of freedom ; and it matters not whether the public agency is autocratic or democratic : the intrusion is essentially the same"[1].

The researches of learned orientalists show that "the light which has come to us from the West" and for which the "Indian Nationalist" is so grateful is only, as Lord Ampthill put it when opening the King Institute of Preventive Medicine in 1905, "the knowledge which emanated from this country centuries ago and brought back now" by the British to India. His lordship continued:

> "And when we undertake municipal water-supply schemes with filter beds and hydraulic pressure, when we build hospitals and establish medical schools, when we promulgate regulations to check the spread of plague, we are not introducing any modern innovations or European fads, but merely doing that which was done centuries ago and again centuries before that, but which has long since been forgotten by all except the historian and the archaeologist. The study of these questions brings out the truth of the old saying that there is nothing new in the world."

The third point noticed by the "Indian Nationalist" is "the efficacy of religion in education." He says ; "The Hindu civilization suffered from an overdose of religiosity. Religion, with us did not exist for man but man existed for religion. The material side of life was largely neglected. Religion was held to forbid all intercourse with foreigners." Now each one of these assertions is as wide of truth as the assertion made later on that "the very conception of patriotism was non-existent." It is not quite clear as to what the "Indian Nationalist" means by the remark that "religion with us did not exist for man, but man existed for religion." If he means that in ancient India, the Hindus cared for religion more than for anything else, he is not far wrong, but does he know what the true Hindu religion is. The Hindu religion is the knowledge of those eternal principles which govern Nature and Man; those immutable laws which in one sphere are called Science, in another, true Philosophy. It concerns itself not with things true under certain conditions or at certain times: its precepts are ever true—true in the past, true in the present, true in the future. Its principles circumscribe the globe and govern all humanity. The Hindu religion is not, a confession of weakness, an humble admission of the helplessness of humanity and an absolute reliance on an external agency, for the salvation of mankind. The Hindu religion is a confident assertion

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(1) Herbert Spencer's *Autobiography*, Vol. I., p. 439.

of supreme manhood—an assertion, full of dignity and independence. With a little alteration in the words of Marquis Ito, the Hindus may also say "we have knowledge, science, culture and love for mankind as our religion." "The material side of life" say the "Indian Nationalist," "was largely neglected." The wonderful progress made by the ancient Hindus in all practical sciences like Medicine, War, Chemistry, in arts like weaving, architecture, sculpture, does not show neglect of the material side of life. Does the "Indian Nationalist" know what Sir W. Jones says of the material prosperity of India even two thousand years ago. "There is good reason to believe," says he "that the Court at Avanti was equal in brilliancy in the reign of Vicramaditya to that of any monarch in any age or country"[1].

We find in the *Chambers's Encyclopædia*:—"In manufacture, the Hindus attained to a marvellous perfection at a very early period, and the Courts of Imperial Rome glittered with gold and silver brocades of Delhi. The muslins of Dacca were famous ages ago throughout the civilized world. In the International Exhibition of 1862, splendid specimens of gorgeous manufactures and the patient industry of the Hindus were displayed. Textile fabrics of inimitable fineness, tapestry glittering with gems, rich embroideries and brocades, carpets wonderful for the exquisite harmony of colour, enamel of the most brilliant hue, inlaid wares that require high magnifying power to reveal their minuteness, furniture most elaborately carved, swords of curious forms and excellent temper are amongst the objects that prove the perfection of art in India." This does not look like neglect of the material side of life.

As for religion forbidding all intercourse with foreigners, nothing is farther from truth. The most sacred and the most authoritative work on religion, the Veda, says:—

समुद्रङ्गच्छ स्वाहा अन्तरिक्षङ्गच्छ स्वाहा
देव ꣳ सवितारङ्गच्छ स्वाहा ॥ यजुर्वेद, म०६ म० २२

Again (Mandala 36, Mantra, 24):—

तच्छ इदेवहितं

Manu also says:—

एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वंस्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः॥ मनु० अ० ५ श्लो० २०

Then the fact that the Hindus planted colonies all over the world, that they, not only used to visit but settled in Great Britain, America, Scandinavia, Greece, Egypt, Siberia, and other distant climes completely disproves the theory of their isolation

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(1) Sakuntala: Preface.

from the rest of the world[1]. That the Hindus cultivated close relations with foreigners is proved from the fact that Arjuna married Alopi, the daughter of the American king Kuru, that Anurudhji, grandson of Srikrishna, married the princes Ookha, daughter of Ban, king of Shoont, which belonged to Egypt, that Chandergupta married the daughter of Seleucus, that Nausherwan the Just, king of Persia, gave his daughters in marriage to the Maharana of Chitor, and that the famous Bappa Rawal married the daughters of the kings of Herat, Samarkand, Bokhara, and others, and that, in his old age, he retired to Samarkand and died there.

I now come to another of those mischievous ideas sedulously propagated by the detractors of the Hindus that "the very conception of patriotism was non-existent," amongst them. *Matri-Bhumi*—Motherland—was ever the refrain of the Hindu song. Even during the mediæval times, the love of country was predominant in India. Colonel Tod says:—"The name of country carried with it a magical power in the mind of the Rajput: the name of his wife must never be mentioned at all, nor *that of his country but with respect*, or his sword is instantly unsheathed"[2].

The noble Colonel again says:—

> "The last moments of Pratap were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthaginian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. But the Rajput prince had not the same joyful assurance that inspired the Numidian Hamilcar, for his end was clouded with the presentiment that his son Amra would abandon his fame for inglorious repose. A powerful sympathy is excited by the picture which is drawn of this final scene. The dying hero is represented in a lonely dwelling; his chiefs, the faithful companions of many a glorious day, awaiting round his pallet the dissolution of their prince, when a groan of mental anguish made Saloombra enquire "what afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace?" He rallied: "it lingered," he said "for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk"; and with the death pang upon him, he related an incident which had guided his estimate of his son's disposition and now tortured him with the reflection that for personal ease, he would forego the remembrance of his own and *his country's wrongs*. "These sheds" (Pratap was lying in one of the few huts constructed on the banks of Pechola), said the dying prince, "will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease, and luxury with its concomitants will ensue, to which the independence of Mewar, which we have bled to maintain will be sacrificed." It was only when the nobles pledged themselves by the throne of Bappa Rawal that they would not permit mansions to be raised till Meywar had recovered her independence, that the soul of Pratap was satisfied and with joy he expired.

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(1) This subject is fully discussed in my forthcoming book, *Hindu Superiority.*

(2) *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Volume II, p. 429.

The world furnishes but few instances of the intensity of patriotic feeling which inspired the eldest son of the Mehtri Chief during the civil war between Bakht Singh and Ram Singh in Marwar. The reply of Raj Singh, the heir apparent of Jaisalmer, during the reign of Mul Raj (1762 A. D.,) when in his banishment, the Chiefs proposed to run the country, to the effect that " the country was his mother and every Rajput his foe who injured it " does not look as if the very conception of patriotism was non-existent.

Another point with which the " Indian Nationalist" deals is the question of imparting instruction to students in the Hindi language which, he says, is impracticable. I have always thought that this is a question the supreme importance of which has not been fully appreciated by the Indians. For the building up of a nation, a common language is necessary, English can never be the national language of the Indians. A curious reflection arises when we see that while subject nations in Europe and Africa are fighting to make their national tongues the medium of instruction in schools and colleges, and even for words of command in the army, Indians themselves advocate the use of a foreign language for the purpose. The " Indian Nationalist " has advanced nothing to support his view of the impracticability of the scheme. When the Japanese language has been capable of accomplishing it, why should not Hindi, which can always draw upon the limitless sources of the Sanskrit. If this scheme is a midsummer nght's dream, what would you call the scheme of fusing into one nationality, having common interests and common ideals the Hindus, Muhamedans, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, each divided into a number of sections, inhabiting regions far apart from each other, and speaking languages quite different from one another, with aims and ideals absolutely conflicting and at variance from one another. The statesmen who decided that the English language was to be the vehicle of instruction in schools in India were not inspired by a platonic love for the inhabitants of this country. They were shrewd, far-seeing politicians who knew what they were doing. They had the interest of the State as much at heart as a desire to spread education amongst the people. Making English the medium of instruction has done more harm to the cause of real education than anything else that we know of. True, we are enabled now to read the heart-stirring poems of Burns, Scott, and Campbell, and become acquainted, in their original form, with the works of Burke, Bentham, Payne, Mill, Huxley, Spencer and others, but all to what purpose? What is the net substantial result of all this knowledge, this acquaintance with the works of European writers. One of the chief reasons why Japan in thirty years has been able to transform itself into one of the first-class nations in the world is that the whole nation is educated in the Japanese language. Language determines the nature of the education imparted. Unless an Indian language is made the vehicle of instruction, national ethics and national ideals will never come before the minds of people and no improvement, moral, social or political, will be probable. Owing to the English education they have received, educated Hindus whenever they think of an author, think not of Vyasa or Valmiki, but of Scott, Voltaire or Spencer. When they think of a poet, they think not of Kalidas, or Bhavbhuti, but of Shakespeare, Milton or Byron. The word patriot reminds them of a Robert Bruce, a Garibaldi, and a William Tell and not of a Maharana Pratap. The word, "conqueror", puts them in mind of Alexander and Napoleon, not of Arjuna and Balrama; a reformer, of Luther and Calvin, not of Buddha and Shankara. They know far more of the expedition of Pyrrhus, the victories of Scipio Africanus, of the Hundred Years' War and the wars of the Austrian Succession than the conquests of Sagarji, the expulsion of the Buddhists, the exploits of Vicramaditya, the achievements of Arjuna, the noble work of Pratap or the rise of the Marhatta Power. They can discourse on the Machiavelian or the Fabian Policy, but they are supremely ignorant of the political genius of one of the greatest politicians of the world, Srikrishna. The Indians will do well to remember the words of Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris who, in a letter to the late Babu P. C. Roy, C. I. E., said: "If ever national spirit may be fostered in India, it is only through a study of national antiquities, national literature and national ethics." A Nelson, a Washington, a William Tell, a Bruce, a Garibaldi, a Joan De Arc may excite admiration and appeal to the imagination of the Hindus, but an Arjuna, a Rama Chundra, a Bheesma, a Prithivi Raj, a Maharana Pratap, a Sivaji, a Guru Govind Singh alone will touch their hearts and strengthen those impulses, which go to the building up of a Nation.

[NOTE:—The *sloka* on p. 126 means "This is mine or another's is the calculation of the low-minded, to the generous-minded the whole world itself is a relation."

Those on p. 128 mean "Away you go to the ocean, away to the sky and away to the god Sun"; "All men on this earth should learn their respective rules of conduct from Brahmans born in this country."—ED., *H. R.*]

* * *

THE INDIAN PRESS : ITS EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION.

IN writing of men and things, of questions concerning native states and chiefs, Indian journalists have frequently betrayed an amount of ignorance respecting this country, which, if borne in mind, should not give them any occasion for lamenting over the crass ignorance and unconcern of England respecting India. For one hundred and fifty years English writers have tried to dispel this ignorance of their countrymen in regard to their great dependency, but so far as can be perceived, their attempts have all failed. The most brilliant of Anglo-Indians and the most English of all English writers, Lord Macaulay, in the preamble of one of his essays, hits off with his usual point, this English characteristic. The particular kind of ignorance which Macaulay predicated of Englishmen at home, seems on scrutiny, to be also the peculiar failing of their brethern living in the East. But even the English educated natives of India who enjoy very many opportunities to know the country which they call their own, do not seem to be in a better predicament than their rulers. Altogether, India is as ignorant of herself as any other country can be of her and her self-ignorance is probably greater than that of any other country.

This ignorance is attributed by some writers to the vast extent of the country and the absence of homogeneity in the population of India. But with the spread of English education throughout the country and the opening of railway and telegraphic communications in all directions, the aspect of India's vastness has been perceptibly minimised, and the prospect of an eventual homogeneous population has been dimly foreshadowed. But, however powerful these factors might be in bringing into closer contact the different races of India, they do not help to dissipate the dense mass of ignorance which acts as a mighty deterrent against the mutual understanding of one another. The Bengalee is as much ignorant of the social life of the Punjabee, as the latter of the former. The INDIAN PRESS can, no doubt, considerably hasten the enlightenment of the people, but as it stands now, it is too feeble to be of any service.

In all civilised countries the Press is regarded as an indispensable factor of national life, and its educating influence is greatly valued. In Europe, journalists form the leading politicians and party-chiefs. In France, since the Great Revolution, the Press has played an important part in the sensational drama of public affairs, and journalists have not only been tribunes, but also Presidents. In Russia where continental absolutism reaches its acme, and where the holy Czar is the earthly disposer of all the Russians, Katkoff, of the *Moscow Gazette*, held in his hand so much power over Russian politics that even the Czar deferred to him because he found it his interest to do so. Thus the Press in Europe has become the greatest institution of modern civilisation. Not only do the Europeans esteem it as an object of pride, but their historians regard its existence as a fairly safe criterion of the social and political advancement of a people.

In Europe, the primary function of the press is the acquiring and disseminating of information. A better method of circulating information to the masses of Europe than the Press does not exist. The present extraordinary development of the Press there and the support which it receives from the population show most unmistakably how eager the European nations are to know one another. There the Press is continually at work to keep the people informed of all that is occurring in the different parts of the country, thus silently influencing and energising them to preserve their national life. In this way the EUROPEAN PRESS dispels popular ignorance and acquires a strong hold over the minds of the populace.

The INDIAN PRESS, such as we now have, is essentially an European institution, but how weak! how ignorant! A century has passed away since it began its struggle for existence; it has survived various vicissitudes, but its peculiar weakness and ignorance still linger. The INDIAN PRESS does not possess any hold on the masses of India; its conductors are strangely neglected as a class of insignificant men. Without adequate support and power and prestige, the INDIAN PRESS merely drags on its existence as an institution busily engaged in catering provincial news and in airing the grievances of its own personality. The persons who conduct it and the persons who support it do not form a party and consequently have no policy to dictate. Anglo-Indian journalists are not picked men of a profession, but random recruits from bankrupt merchants, failing planters, dismissed civil servants, cashiered military officers. Occasionally for the sake of experiment, men are imported from England, and they, in most cases, prove to their importers, to be the most profitable bargains. Eventually these men become the most profitable members of the fraternity. But the majority of those who embrace journalism as a profession in India are men whose careers have been soured by the heart sickness of deferred hope and who find it the haven of their wrecked life. Hence the Indian journalists often turn the institution into the worst vehicle of local and personal grievances, impairing their dignity and destroying their popular character.

Journalism in India is not a lucrative profession, and those who conduct it, live a hand-to-mouth existence. They are not, like their English colleagues helped by a staff of wellpaid assistants, but mainly depend on amateur contributions. Circumstanced as he is, an Indian journalist, before embracing his calling, passes through no noviciate, and as such, neither continues a settled policy nor preserves any traditions. Thus the ignorance of its conductors deprives the INDIAN PRESS of all its usefulness and makes it only a vehicle of local and personal grievances. And there is little hope for the enlightenment of the Indian masses from the Press as long as its personnel and its ways do not much improve.

But there need not be a wholesale condemnation of the INDIAN PRESS. The *Friend of India* always placed before its readers the earliest information—whether it was respecting a scientific, political or commercial mission, or a war or frontier raid, or an Afghan or Persian intrigue or the ambition of an Indian prince--and in doing so frequently incurred official thwart and often found its telegrams from the North-Western frontier suppressed by Government order. The old *Delhi Gazette's* speciality was Central Asian news. It had, in this matter, for years, at considerable expense, often been, indeed, of important aid to the Government, without caring for the gratitude of fellow-citizens or reward from the State. In general news the *Times of India* of Bombay is superior. In official and service information the *Pioneer* is generally reliable.

For all the pains and enterprise such as it is, of the INDIAN PRESS, we daily mark its failure to do its duty in innumerable cases. No information is procured from many scenes of interest. Dependence is placed upon the tardy kindness of Government. The Press, indeed, sins more by a real omission to help its readers in distress. It does not tell enough of a matter or a person or a place. It acts as if it thought its readers were more knowing than they are. Most readers, of course, are not more ignorant than most of the journalists who need quite as much assistance from the former as they do from the latter.

India, of most countries in the world, practicularly needs this considerateness in her Press. Her great extent and the variety of her races, creeds, manners, interests, make every news by itself really unintelligible without sufficient details. Every scrap wants a commentary. Sir Phillip Francis when after his return from India, he had set himself up as an oriental authority, confessed not having heard of Gohod and the Chief of Gohod. Were it not that the affairs of Gohod came before Warren Hastings' Government, he well might, without reproach. How few Anglo-Indians, among those who have lived in this country longer than that unchivalrous knight even now know of it! We are not disposed to impute it as a fault to any one. We know by bitter experience how difficult it is to know India in all its parts—how impossible alas! to master its details! The fault lies with the country for it is so large, and its peoples are so numerous and so various!

But the hopelessness of acquiring full knowledge does not justify the ignorance of neglect. The INDIAN PRESS cannot be excused for not doing the best under the circumstances. We understand that it is against the traditions of the Press to load the margins of its pages with notes, fill its columns with historical and biographical memoirs and geographical details. The newspaper cannot—ought not--to supersede the library or even the mere gazetteer. But gazetteers and biographical dictionaries are very useful compliments of every literature and are essentials of high civilisation. Such works are much needed, and without such, most of the names mentioned in connection with incidents or events whether in newspapers or official reports or otherwise, remain mere names, call up no memories or associations; the incidents and events themselves lose their significance. Addison refers to the desire of the readers to make themselves acquainted with the personality of their authors, the satisfaction of which is the *sine qua non* of interest in their productions. The curiosity is universal in all men and respecting all men spoken of. It is a legitimate thirst and often the *sine qua non* of intelligent understanding of places, things and events. Without an intimate knowledge of the relations of men to places, things and events, they all are mere words, names. They all explain one another, make one another interesting, worth talking or hearing of. The absence of such knowledge makes Indian names so unintelligible. An Englishman would really appreciate if told, for instance, that Sir Robert Peel has behaved like a hero. Would the ideas of most Indians go much beyond the syntax and verbal meaning of the words, if told, for instance, that the Nawab of Maler Kotla had done anything great or small?

I have said once and again repeat that unless the INDIAN PRESS be a really serviceable institution to its readers, it would acquire no stronghold over the masses. The great want of information which India now feels, the Press alone can supply. There is nothing startling in such a function of the Press. Even in the most favoured regions, the newspaper is the real popular library. The late Mr. Cobden, before his unfortunate passage at arms with Mr. Delane, hardly exaggerated the literary and intellectual importance of the newspaper press when he made that bold though oft-reviled comparison between the utility of the works of Thucydides and that of the *Times*, the representative and leader of the ENGLISH PRESS. A regular reader of the Press, if he read nothing else, would, what with its leading articles, its reviews and memoirs, what with its parliamentary and other reports, its extracts, its correspondence, its descriptions, learn almost all things necessary. The ENGLISH PRESS understands its functions, the INDIAN PRESS does not.

To acquire a proper place in the estimation of the Indian populace and their rulers, the INDIAN PRESS should influence the masses by keeping them properly informed of all that is taking place in the country. Acting on such a principle would not only make the Indian journalists a class of influential men, but also enable them to acquire a hold in the country that would help them greatly at times when occasions arise for fighting political battles. With a large following and a superior power, the INDIAN PRESS would soon acquire the real dignity of the Fourth Estate such as the ENGLISH PRESS possesses in England to-day.

S. C. SANIAL.

ANIMALS: THEIR LANGUAGES & INSTINCTS.

WE had often thought, like many others, that man was the only creature on the globe, who had the possibility innate in him, of communicating his thoughts to his kind by definite articulate sounds called speech. Still it has been demonstrated conclusively by naturalists, that even many of the lower animals have, each species its own language, which, though rude and elementary, is definite and complete for their own purposes. Man is far ahead, in every respect, of other living things of this world. He has, for instance, "made the vestural tissue of woollen or other cloth as his Body's and Soul's outermost wrappage and overall." Thus the belief that man was the only speaking animal was always nurtured, and was the consequence of the vast difference in brain-culture, and ideas of refinement, between him and the other creatures of the globe.

Although many of the animal languages have not yet been worked out, there can be no doubt about the fact, that every animal which has a *larynx*, communicates its thoughts by the use of that organ, producing sounds for purposes of speech. It is not possible at the present stage of scientific development to discover whether such an animal as the white-ant is capable of speech. But in some of the higher animals as monkeys, the existence of an intelligible language has been demonstrated.

The unmusical and apparently meaningless chatter of the monkey, the continuous, semi-melodious *tzuen*, *tzizizit* of the house-sparrow, the *tsutsutsuk* of the squirrel and even the disturbing *kaw*, *kawha* of the common crow are as much vehicles of thought as any form of human speech. To us, human beings in general, neither the melodious music of birds which pour forth their soul in their chirping, nor the harsh howl of jackals, which gloat ravenously over their repulsive ill-gotten meal, conveys any meaning, as surely as the most refined language of an ancient Demosthenes or a modern Gladstone, would not, to lower animals, or even to men unacquainted with the Greek language in the one case, or the English tongue in the other. If the language of one is a mere conglomeration of sounds to another, does it therefore follow that any sound which conveys no meaning to human beings, falls necessarily into the category of either music or noise, and not into that of speech or language? If human speech is an elaborate system of sounds used by the most civilised animal on the globe for purposes of conversation and transmission of thought, the speech of animals serves the same purpose, although it may be in a much smaller scale.

It is possible to find out with ease, the meaning of some sounds made by animals, by closely watching their movements which immediately follow such sounds. An ordinary observer can well see that *tzuen* in sparrow-language indicates tender feeling, friendship or greeting. The mother sparrow on going to her nest, with some insects or seeds in her conical bill, to put into the mouths of her recently hatched young, says *tzuen*, and the younglings make the same noise in reply. A male sparrow calls its female by uttering *tzuen* or *tzup*. There must be some modification in the sound *tzuen* for distinguishing what it is to signify, whether love, amity or welcome, but the human ear is not able to distinguish the change in sound which is probably precious little. Again *tzizizip* sounds an alarm to escape an impending danger, for instance, the approach of a voracious bird. This can be noticed especially in the case of a mother-sparrow taking out her new-fledged young, in that she always calls aloud *tzizizip* when a cat is in the lurch or a mischievous boy is coming along with a stick in his hand. The instant the alarm is given the whole group are off on their wing to a place of safety. The sparrows have a number of other sounds for expressing such ideas as food, mother, etc.

By this method of close observation, we can make ourselves sure that some animals speak, and that they use certain sounds for expressing certain ideas as fear, hunger, friendship, jealousy and the like. But mere observation, with the unaided human ear and eye, is insufficient to discover the speech of animals to any degree of sastifaction. It requires the aid of some things on which we can rely for retention and accuracy, and with such aid it is possible to find out the vocabulary of any species approximately, or at least to discover the exact sounds which convey the corresponding ideas. The difficulty arises, especially, from the fact that an animal in expressing different groups of kindred ideas, as fear, hate and jealousy or father, mother and child, or hunger, thirst and illness, or friendship, love and greeting, do so by means of sounds which are only slightly modified but which evidently arise *from a common phonetic root.*

The phonograph (the thing we referred to above) plays an important part in the unveiling of mysteries connected with the language of animals. The observer is guaranteed the accuracy of the sounds he has recorded, and he can hear them any number of times at his will, by simply setting the machine with the records in motion, without his being put to the inconvenience of waiting and inducing the particular animal to make the particular sound. The taking of good records is, however, no easy business. Records could only be taken when a number of animals are making some noise, and therefore the particular sounds selected for study are often blended into a babel of others, obscuring and modifying them in quality, and rendering identification impossible. The voice of one single animal, to the exclusion of the rest, can hardly be recorded, where animals are living in a state of nature. Therefore the animal selected, has to be domesticated, befriended and trained and gently induced to make some vocal performances before the horn of the phonograph; under such conditions accurate and useful records could be taken. In spite of these difficulties, investigations of the languages of animals, made with the aid of phonographs, have always proved most sure and successful, and least liable to give rise to erroneous conclusions or misinterpretations.

There is one great difference between the language of animals and the language of man. The language of a monkey, for instance, born and living in one part of the globe would be the same as that of the same species living in another place, although separated by a distance of over a thousand miles, and as will appear from a later part of this article, the two can converse together as easily as though they were for generations denizens of the same forest. The same cannot be said of man. There are thousands of languages, dialects and sub-dialects, all existing among and being used by one species. This extraordinary difference and variety is probably due to the rapid development in point of language and the like, of each of the various tribes of men which in days of old maintained for centuries its isolation from the other tribes, and had nothing to do with others unless it be for plunder, conquest or subjugation. The conclusions of Philology as to the common origin and relationship of the human languages of this world, both spoken and dead, probably point to the fact that at some remote period of time there must have been one common rudimentary language spoken by the animal man, out of which the present enormous diversity has grown up,

Moreover the speech of animals is *more vague in meaning and less exact in utterance.* Animals have not such accurate and precise ideas as man, whose more complex thoughts require a more perfect system of speech to express them. Man *thinks*, and herein he differs from lower animals. He can give thinking work to his brain by speculating on such abstract principles as right and wrong, godliness and godlessness, justice and iniquity. Since this power of thinking is wanting in lower animals, and even in those cases where some of them do think a bit, such counts as nothing when compared with the same faculty in man, the language of animals is necessarily lacking in principle and system. The most cultured of them have only a few vague ideas. The most intellectually developed chimpanzee has never any necessity, during all its life, for a vocabulary of more than twenty words. It is no wonder that each of these limited number of sounds are applied by the animals to many kindred ideas. A sound signifying thirst may mean water or milk; another sound indicating food may be applied to fruits, roots or bulbs.

If animals do not express very precise ideas by equally precise sounds, the inference that such sounds have no value as language does not necessarily follow. Such sounds do not fall under the category of exclamations and interjections. When once we see that a certain idea is expressed by a certain sound and always by that sound whenever the same idea is intended to be expressed by the animal, and when another animal of the same species attaches the same meaning to that sound, it certainly forms a part of the language of the animal. Professor R. L. Garner writes :—

> "All types of human speech are not equally copious or refined and the lowest types of mind employ the rudest forms of speech. The speech of monkeys conforms to this law, and while it is a very low type, it meets the demands of the mental state of the animal, and serves the same purpose in his social life as human speech does in ours. The dimness of an idea does not

lessen its reality as a thought, nor does paucity of words lessen the reality of speech."

Professor R. L. Garner (from whom, as stated, the above passage is taken) has worked up this branch of natural science by making three voyages to Africa, and there penetrating into the heart of the great forests and living for months together at a stretch, completely cut off from civilisation. He got made a portable iron cage which he took with him to the interior of the African forests, and spent many days in it alone for the purpose of carrying on his investigations. During these periods he has made the sounds uttered by monkeys his unceasing study. Besides this, he gained much valuable information concerning the innate habits of many species of animals. He has proved beyond doubt that monkeys have an intelligible language by means of which they converse among themselves. He is the first in the field in opening up this new branch of natural science. The grand additions which Professor Garner has made to natural science would excuse us for speaking of him and his method of work at some length in this article.

The difficulty in learning the speech of any animal or bird consists in distinguishing and recalling the sounds uttered by them. Even the keenest intellect and quickest memory must fail to catch and retain the queer sounds made by a number of irrational creatures at the same instant. Mr. Garner had therefore to resort to the aid of the Phonograph which rendered great assistance and lessened his perplexities considerably but did not obviate all difficulties that lay in his way of success. The fact of the matter is that the phonograph records every sound that passes into its horn and does not take the sound of only one omitting those of others occupying the same quarters. Mr. Garner, therefore, procured a loquacious and intelligent young capuchin and placed him in a separate open cage. The monkey, in due time got accustomed to our Professor, its new habitat and its strange surroundings, and was thereupon induced to make some sounds before the horn of a phonograph which was worked by a device, whereby the machine might be started or stopped without being observed by the monkey. This caution had to be observed, as otherwise these creatures suspected some danger, and never approached the recording machine. In this way a distinct record of the sounds uttered by the monkey was secured.

He studied these sounds carefully uttering them before the young capuchin and noting its reply. He took the cylinder to another place a thousand miles away, and there secured another monkey of the same species, which was given the same treatment as the former that it may become familiar with its new environments. Then the phonograph was set in motion before the cage of this new monkey. As soon as the machine repeated the sounds made by the other monkey, the listener became interested, approached the mouth of the horn and responded to the sounds that issued from it. Every time the records were repeated, the monkey approached the machine, and appeared to understand the meaning of the sounds. Its actions as the result of hearing the sounds were such as to give rise to a natural presumption that it recognised them as the sounds of one of his kind. This proves conclusively the fact we mentioned in a previous portion of this article, that animals of the same kind speak the same language wherever they may be.

Another machine to record the reply of the new capuchin was arranged by the side of the repeater and worked with a similar device for starting or stopping the machine without being observed by the monkey. A distinct record of the reply was obtained and the two sets of records were used for comparative study.

When these records were secured, the rest of the work, which only consisted of finding out the meaning of the sounds, became easy. It was only a matter of putting two and two together. One sound may imply a demand, appeal, request, intimation or inquiry, and another sound would, most likely, be the reply. Each sound was uttered before the monkey and its reply and accompanying movements were noted. In this way the particular sounds expressing food, water, thirst, greeting, mother, danger and such other ideas were found out. Professor Garner says that a monkey would, on hearing a certain sound made by him, which indicated thirst, rush to the back of its cage and bring its tin-pan, and when milk was poured in it, would utter the same sound and drink the milk with evident signs of pleasure.

This method may be followed in all cases where the phonograph could be conveniently used and would always, we are sure, be accompanied with fruitful results. One need not always run to the forests to investigate the language of the cuckoo or the crow-pheasant.

Before closing our article we shall briefly notice the instincts in animals which make up the want of speech and brains in them. Instinct is the natural impulse in animals which tends to the preservation and perpetuation of the living things of the globe. It is found, in its least force, in man in whom *reason* supersedes it. It varies inversely according to the amount of reason which the animal possesses. As the proportion of the faculty of reason in an animal corresponds to its capacity of speech, we may deduce a general rule that natural instinct is found in its greatest force in animals which have neither the power of reasoning nor the capability of speech.

Instinct, if anything, appears to be the immediate direction of Providence and in the words of Addison "such an operation of the Supreme Being, as that which determines all the portions of matter to their proper centres." Bayh says "*Deus est anima brutorum*" or, God himself is the Soul of brutes. Animals possess a natural sagacity which directs them to such food as is proper and wholesome for them, and to reject others which are poisonous and noxious. This instinct in animals is made use of by sailors, (as may be seen in any book on travels or voyages) who, when thrown on any unknown land, never venture upon any fruits which have not been pecked by birds or eaten by other animals. It may be called divine, the instinct of a lamb, which no sooner falls from its mother, immediately and of its own accord, applies itself to the teat.

All creatures have two instincts, that of hunger and sex, the former directing the animal to make such efforts as to keep it from starvation and the latter driving the animal to propagate its kind, and thus look to the preservation of the species. This latter instinct in the females varies directly in importance according to the degree of care required to bring up the young into a self-supporting stage. Only such a degree of instinct is present in a species as is absolutely necessary for having a posterity. Some creatures cast their eggs as chance directs them and think of them no farther, as insects and several kinds of fish; others of a nicer frame find out proper beds to deposit them in, and leave them there, as the serpent, the crocodile and ostrich; other animals hatch their eggs and tend the birth until they are able to shift for themselves; lastly, mammals bring forth calves, suckle them and nurse them and take very great care of their young.

Instinct may be noticed remarkably in the case of birds. Each different kind observes a particular plan in the structure of its nest and all of the same species work after the same model. It cannot be called *imitation*, where the young has learnt the art from the parents, for even if the egg of a crow be hatched by a hen and the young bird was not allowed to see the works of any of his kind of sable plumage, the nest it builds would be the same, in every respect and in every minute detail, as the nests of other crows. It cannot be *reason* for then, there ought to be as many varieties in the structure of their nests as in men, according to the degree of convenience they wish to enjoy.

Though animals have nothing like the reason in men, they have all the lower parts of human nature as anger, malice, revenge and all other violent passions in their greatest strength and perfection. Nature has provided defensive and offensive arms to animals in the direct ratio of the evil propensities which the animal possesses. Animals learn to the best advantage, the use of their claws, hoofs, horns, teeth, tusk, tail, sting and other such weapons by mere instinct, as can be noticed by all in the case of a lamb bred within doors and which never saw another big goat using its horns, in that it points its forehead in readiness against an attack by boys or dogs, long before the first budding of its horns appears.

Naturalists, who investigate the habits and instincts of animals, may also interest themselves in discovering whether animals and birds have intelligible languages as their vehicles of thought. Mr. Garner expresses his surprise that such a high type of animal speech as that of monkeys "should have so long eluded the notice of mankind." Our belief, however, is that Mr. Garner's endeavours were the direct result of Edison's invention of the phonograph. Anyhow, Mr. Garner feelingly complains that "as few men ever pursue any object except for lucre, and the study of simian speech pays no dividends, it may readily be inferred why it has not hitherto found a place in the curriculum of science."

AN "AMATEUR NATURALIST."

THE WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE MOVEMENT.

SPEAKING properly, the history of widow re-marriage in India dates from the time of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. From time immemorial the widows of India had been subjected to a series of hardships and mortifications unparallelled in the annals of any other country. The great Raja Rammohun Roy felt for the wretched condition of Hindu women, and as a consequence of his humane endeavours, backed up by the beneficient policy of Lord William Bentinck, the *Sati* was abolished. Still the miseries of enforced widowhood were in store for the submissive Hindu women. They escaped the frying pan only to leap into the fire, till late in the year 1853 a mighty figure appeared on the scene. It was Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

But even the great Vidyasagar had a few precursors. Hindu parents had always bitterly felt for the sufferings of their widowed daughters but the unquestionable authority of the *Shastras* tied them hand and foot. Gradually, English education began to leaven, as it were, the national mind and people began to feel the strain of chains that had hitherto cramped their energies and tramelled their vigour. It is said that a father, unable to bear the painful sight of a tender-aged widow in his house, publicly sought to invoke the authority of the *Shastras* in favour of his youthful daughter's re-marriage. Accordingly, a proposition was circulated among the Pandits, enquiring "whether the widowed daughter of a *Sudra* (as the father in question was a Sudra) who had not known her husband and who was unable to practise the higher virtue of concremation with her husband's corpse, or endurance of the hardships of a life of widowhood, could be re-married agreeably to the *Shastras*?" The question was discussed at a public meeting of the Pandits held in the house of Raja Radhakanta Dev, the leader, in those days, of Hindu orthodoxy in Calcutta. The result was a precious little concession in favour of the proposed reform. There is also a rumour current in Bengal that the late Raja Rajballab, moved by the sufferings of his young widowed daughter, tried to introduce widow re-marriage, but was thwarted by the clandestine opposition of the Maharaja Bahadur Krishna Chandra of Nuddea, one of those who rendered valuable aid to Lord Clive in establishing British supremacy in India. Later on, during the life-time of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the Maharajah Srish Chandra Roy Bahadur of Nuddea—a descendant of Krishna Chandra—who was a man of liberal spirit and a warm supporter of social reform, gathered together the Pandits of his zamindari and got them to sanction the re-marriage of widows; but owing to the opposition of the public at large he failed to carry it into effect. Besides, previous to the publication of Vidayasagar's book on widow re-marriage, a series of articles appeared in the *Bengal Spectator*, conducted by the well-known speaker, Babu Ram Gopal Ghose and others, strongly urging the need of widow re-marriage. The authorship of these articles is ascribed by some to Pandits Madan Mohun Tarkalankar and Iswar Chandra Vidayasagar. But the real movement began, as already stated, in the life-time of Iswar Chandra. The story of its inception runs thus:—Once a girl-widow had been to Vidayasagar's house at Birsinha and Vidyasagar's mother was touched with pity at the sad condition of the girl. She came to her son and with tears in her eyes asked if there was no remedy for this inhuman cruelty and charged him to discover a *Shastric* sanction for the re-marriage of widows. With her noble charge full sympathy was expressed by Vidyasagar's father and Vidyasagar resolved to address himself in the face of all difficulties, to the task of rescuing the helpless women of the country. Accordingly, he buried himself in the *Shastras* and his joy knew no bounds when he came across a certain passage* in the *Parasara Samhita* in favour of widow re-marriage. He published a book entitled the *Vidhava-Vivaha* (widow re-marriage) in the year 1853 (a second edition in 1855) setting forth therein the arguments in support of the proposed reform. The book fell like a thunderbolt on the orthodox community and provoked the bitterest criticisms. Vidyasagar was fully prepared for it. He braved the odium. He also found two great supporters in his parents who encouraged him to carry on his noble mission. By degrees, Vidyasagar gained a body of powerful supporters headed by influential zamindars like the late Jaykissen Mukerji of Utterparah. But an unforeseen difficulty presented itself. Vidyasagar saw that until widow

* नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

re-marriage were legalised, and its issues declared legitimate, the reform would practically fail to be adopted. A petition, signed by 5,302 persons, was, therefore, submitted to the Legislative Council and an Act known as the Act XV of 1856, was passed in July of the same year, whereby Hindu widow re-marriage was legalised and its issues were declared legitimate. The opponents meanwhile were not inactive. Counter petitions containing signatures of over 60,000 persons were also presented to the Government. But the mover of the Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant, pointed out that "He did not mean to say that the wishes of 60,000 petitioners should be disregarded, merely because they opposed a measure which he approved; but it was right that the Council should observe that, of all the number, there was not one who, unlesss he changed his opinions, could be said to have, in any fair sense of the term, any individual or personal interests in the measure. On the other hand, of the 5,302 persons, who had petitioned in favour of the Bill, there was not one who could be said not to have, in the fairest and truest sense of the term, a strong individual and personal interest in it. There was not one of them who, if the Council should refuse to pass this Bill, might not hereafter have occasion to call it to account for having refused to do that which would have saved the domestic happiness and perhaps the honour of his family." So strong were the feelings of the English members of the Council in favour of Vidyasagar's measure that the Hon'ble Mr. Colvin said, from his place in the Council, that "if he knew certainly that but one little girl would be saved from the horrors of *bramhacharya* (enforced celibacy) by the passing of his Act, he would pass it for her sake."

The Act was passed, and several marriages were celebrated under Vidyasagar's auspices and Vidyasagar bore all the expenses. In consequence of this, he had to run into heavy debt. Such is the brief history of the origin of this reform—a reform which had baffled the attempts of influential Pandits and Maharajahs and which had dearly to be paid for in the shape of odium, persecution, a degree of manual and mental labour and an appreciable sacrifice of money. The intensity of the popular feeling against him was great; so great that a regular attempt was made upon his life. But the reform so dearly bought began to die out in the life-time of the reformer. Some wretches married widows, but soon after treacherously deserted them and took maiden-wives. After that they took it into their heads—and actually did so—to treat their former wives as concubines. This made widow re-marriage an object of hatred to many, and when in later times people came to Vidyasagar to ask him to help them in marrying widows, he sharply refused and bade them marry according to the Brahmo Marriage Act which severely punishes polygamy. Thus the reform split on the rock of polygamy. Under Vidyasagar's auspices the number of widow re-marriages was considerable and such men, as Pandit Srish Chandra Vidyaratna, Babus Durga Narayan and Madan Bose, cousin-brothers of the well-known Raj Narain Bose, and many other respectable gentlemen, married widows.

During his life-time the reformer had been deserted by his followers to fight single-handed. Their zeal like the zeal of ordinary mortals vanished too soon, but here and there in the country several cases of widow-marriage occurred. The Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen advocated this cause. Three years after the passing of Vidyasagar's Act, Mr. Sen threw himself heart and soul into the movement. A certain respectable gentleman belonging to the suburbs of Calcutta composed a drama on the subject and Mr. Keshub Chunder put it on the stage and opened the performance to the public in 1859. The plot of the play represented the miseries of a Hindu widow who fell in love with a young neighbour and was lured away into a corrupt career. The concluding scenes depicted her sufferings, confessions and suicide with an appeal to all patriotic people to put an end to the enforced celibacy of the Hindu widows. The play created a great sensation among the public and led to the adoption, by the Brahmo Samaj, of the cause of the re-marriage of Hindu widows as a part of the programme of the social reform work of that body.

Babu Narayan Chandra Banerji, son of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who has glorified his father's honoured name by himself marrying a widow, started after the death of his father the Widow Re-marriage Association, with Babu Raj Krishna Banerji, Professor of the Calcutta Presidency College, as its President. Inspite of the earnest exertions of Babu Narayan Chandra, the Association failed to achieve any tangible results, because the public did not evince any active or practical interest in the matter. The widow marriage movement is dying a slow death in Bengal and few cases of such marriages occur at present. The other provinces of India are far ahead of Bengal in this respect. For instance, the Widow Re-marriage Association of Upper India, which was established at Shajahanpur in May, 1902, under the patronage of the Gaekwar of Baroda, has been instrumental in promoting no fewer than 127 widow re-marriages, most of which have taken place in respectable Brahmin families. Of this number, 47 were solemnized last year. The Association has 250 members on its roll and carries on its work by assisting willing applicants for re-marriages by defraying their matrimonial expenses and deputing officers to organise arrangements in cases where opposition is feared from people of the same community. With the object of popularising the movement it also delivers lectures at which opportunities are given for discussion. Again, from the Report of the Poona Widows' Home, we learn that the number of inmates of the Home rose during the year 1905 from 38 to 60. For the education of the inmates there are on the tutorial staff two ladies and five gentlemen. Of the four lady workers of the Home, two are constantly touring out for collecting subscriptions, leaving the other two to take up part of the teaching work. The male teachers are all well educated. The public will be pleased to learn that Rs. 20,900 was spent on buildings during the years 1904 and 1905. The Home disbursed Rs. 30,933-5-10 during the year 1904 for the maintenance of its inmates. Besides what is being done by Rao Bahadur Vireshalingham Pantulu in Madras requires no particular mention. The Association started by Babu Narayan Chandra was not, however, a total failure. A few marriages were celebrated under its auspices and Babu Narayan Chandra is still as earnest about the matter and is ready to further the cause in a practical and substantial manner if men are forthcoming to reduce the reform to practice in their individual lives.

But it must be borne in mind that in a good many cases marriage is neither possible nor desirable. Some other means also must, therefore, be adopted to mitigate the rigours of widowhood. That means lies in education. The need for educating widows was recognised by a Bengali reformer who since 1864 has kept toiling with tireless patience in connection with different aspects of social reform. In that year Babu Sasipada Banerji opened a little school in his own house at Baranagar near Calcutta for grown-up widows and other ladies of his own family. For some unavoidable causes this school did not live long, but the idea never forsook him entirely. Late in the year 1887, this apparently dead idea found an adequate expression in the establishment of the Home for Hindu Widows. The departure thus made from the line of the early reformers was a most important one and the late Mr. Caine wrote in 1890 in the *Abkari* that by his Widows' Home, Mr. Sasipada Banerji was solving one of the great social problems of India. But the idea of a widow, leaving her home for a Boarding Institution managed by more or less heterodox reformers, was a revolutionary one. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to notice that Mr. Banerji succeeded in gaining the sanction of the Pandits. The Home had to make its way through a hundred other trials and difficulties. As direct or indirect results of Mr. Banerji's movement, there grew up in the country other kindred institutions which have done and are still doing good service in the cause of the widows. Pandita Ramabai's *Sarada Sadan* is well-known. The institutions at Poona and at Madras have already been mentioned. The Christian missionaries also have taken up the idea and are working in the same line in an energetic though silent manner. The work done for widows at Mysore at the Maharani's School and by the Arya Samaj and the Purity Society in the Punjab are also extensions of the same noble work. Even Mrs. Annie Besant, notwithstanding her advocacy of orthodox Hinduism, feels that something must be done to educate the Indian widow.

We must, however, warn our readers against confounding the present Widows' Home in Calcutta with the one started by Mr. Sasipada Banerji. The Widows' Home founded by Mr. Banerji had to be closed in 1902 owing to the failing health of the founder who could no longer afford to take the same lively interest in it as he had till then done. The term of its existence was marked by remarkable activity and progress, and the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Steuart Bayley, who highly valued the friendship of Mr. Sasipada Banerji for his unassuming patriotism and "thoughtful disposition" (to use his own language) and whom he described at an Annual Meeting of the Indian Association as "exceedingly kind and exceedingly useful," greatly mourned the abolition of the Home at the said meeting. The Home found much favour with every class of people and Mr. James Wilson wrote favourably about it in the *Indian Daily News* of 9th March, 1888, and the late Mr. Justice Ranade spoke appreciatively about it in a certain session of the Indian Social Conference, but, to the great grief of all workers in the cause of social reform, the Home had to be closed. Subsequently, the Brahmo Samaj made a move in this direction. The present Widows' Home was started in 1902 under the auspices of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj. It is in charge of a self-denying and right-minded Brahmo lady,—Mrs. Kadumbini Lahiri—but the number of its inmates is very small. This is due to the financial embarrassments of the Home. Education is sadly neglected here for want of funds and the inmates notwithstanding the tender care of their superintendent feel the pinch of want. Mrs. Kadumbini Lahiri is performing a labour of love, and her devotion to it is simply remarkable. Her labours deserve practical sympathy, and it is to be hoped that a better future awaits the institution.

The Census Report of 1901 publishes horrible figures of Hindu widows. They relate to Bengal alone and are as follows:—

	Age.	Number.	Age.	Number.
	0—1	433	5—10	34,705
	1—2	576	10—15	75,590
	2—3	651	15—20	142,871
	3—4	1,756	20—25	219,491
	4—5	3,861	25—30	347,026
Total ...	0—5	7,277	5—30	819,683

and so on up to age 60.

The figures are appalling.

They bring home, at a glance, to the readers' mind the iniquitous evil that is eating into the vitals of the Hindu society. In addition to their mental sorrows, the state of absolute dependence and the miseries consequent thereon have reduced their feelings to a permanent state of dejection, disquietude and despair and the world, instead of being a happy and romantic place, has to them only the horrors of solitude.

In some cases water is poured into the ears of a widow dying on an *ekadasi*-day. What is meant by pouring water into the ears of a thirsty man or woman is quite unintelligible to us. The widows have to fast the whole of the *ekadasi*-day, so that hunger and thirst, two powerful appetites of man, are called in to do their work of destruction. They are denied all sorts of dainties—in dress and in food, and a widow showing the least indulgence in them is set down as a corrupt woman. The lot of the cook or of the menial is generally a widow's share. She always finds protection under the roof of her relatives but as a being forlorn, helpless, and without any freedom to have her own way and is enslaved, debased and despoiled of every right of humanity. This life-long burning is more intolerable than the actual burning on the funeral pyre of the husband. The Census Report reveals that India is a land of burning women.

Since it is a fashion in these days to bolster up every reform, however, reasonable in itself, by a body of opinions carrying the weight of honoured names, we take the liberty to cite here a few notable authorities on the subject. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was in great sympathy with this aspect of social reform and spoke in a highly appreciative manner on several occasions about the noble reform introduced by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and the beneficient labours of other workers in this direction. The following words of Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar might serve to disabuse many a mind. Speaking as President of the Fourth Anniversary Meeting of the Madras Social Reform Association in the year 1896, Mr. Chandavarkar said :—" What do we urge in favour of Widow-Remarriage which is also one of the reforms we deem essential ? We have no quarrel with the sentiment which leads either a woman who having lost her husband or a man who having lost his wife, determines to consecrate his or her life to a life of celibacy out of respect for the memory of the dear departed. Such a sentiment has everything in it to evoke our admiration. . . . . . . But let us not corrupt such a sentiment by sacrificing at its altar girls who lose their husbands at tender ages, while we allow men near their graves to marry. I have heard many an orthodox man and many an orthodox woman deplore this accursed custom of enforced widowhood. The sentiment in favour of it has not indeed taken practical shape to a large extent; but it is steadily though very slowly growing. The object of the reform is to remove the obstacle enforced by custom, not to compel every widow to marry, but to allow a feeling to grow in society that it is permissive to a widow to marry if she chooses." Who can gainsay the cardinal idea enshrined in the last sentence of the above quotation?

India has already had to groan under a burden of speech, essay and discourse on all national questions. The weight of social and political serfdom *plus* the weight of this self-imposed burden have proved too heavy for her. But we shall briefly conclude the article by quoting the words of a revered countryman of ours whose life is an unbroken chain of sacrifice and who, forsaking the wealth and advantages of a highly prosperous career, has been unselfishly labouring in the country's cause for many a long year. Writing two years since on Female Education for this very journal this old champion said, as the result of his ripe experience, the following notable words:—"Many virtues adorn her (the Hindu woman); and she bears the whole brunt of the present and incessant struggle for existence, quietly doing her duty. One cannot see her without feeling that she of all creatures of God deserves a better lot. Cruel is the custom that can doom her to such servitude or heap such miseries upon her. The best friends of India are those who will try to improve the condition of its womankind." Oh, how true? India expects every man to befriend the cause of her forlorn women and, indeed, who can reasonably doubt the truth which Tennyson in his *Princess* has set forth in these lines:—

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or god-like, bond or free;
. . . .
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow?"

May India soon realise the truth of the above.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

TRUSTS.

IN view of the approaching war which President Roosevelt has undertaken to wage against the Standard Oil Trust, a brief glance at the character and operations of these bodies may not be out of place.

The original idea of a Trust appears to have been that producers should agree among themselves as to how much each should produce, and what common price should be charged to the public, each producer being left with absolute control over his own business in other respects. At first sight, this would seem to be the most natural and most satisfactory arrangement for all concerned. But, unfortunately, it was found extremely difficult to keep all the contracting parties true to the spirit as well as to the letter of the bond, for, in many instances, some of the individual members either undersold the combination rate, or produced quantities in excess of that provided for by regulation, and it was for the express purpose of avoiding such acts of bad faith that the American institutions known as Trusts were established.

The fundamental rule of the present-day Trust is that all its respective members shall be absolutely controlled by the organisation, and, in order to effect this, it is necessary that the Trust shall do more than merely control production and price, although that may be, and generally is, the sole object of the combination. A Trust must also be the virtual, if not the absolute, owner of all the properties or concerns that are parties to the compact, and this is usually achieved by buying up all the different works or other properties that are engaged in the business which it is proposed to control. A huge capital is usually necessary, for this purpose, but it frequently happens that the proprietors of the concerns syndicated are willing to accept their payment in Trust shares.

The extraordinary development of the Trust system which regulates the price of commodities in everyday request, has gone so far during the last few years that it threatens to become a public danger, and it is only natural that the appearance of such a force in our midst should excite apprehension. A country like England depends almost for its very existence upon its means of purchasing at a relatively cheap rate, all the commodities that it consumes, and if those means are withdrawn by any form of combination that is designed to raise the prices of the raw materials of commerce to the manufacturer, of their food supplies to the people, and of manufactured goods to the foreigner, then indeed is England exposed to risks compared with which the absolute renunciation of the policy of Free Trade would be but small.

As a matter of fact, syndicated trade is nothing more or less than a revival under a new set of conditions, of the system of Protection, and is as much an infraction of the system of Free Trade as the customs tariffs of the United States, or the German Zollverein. In more than one respect there is a strong resemblance between the two. A customs tariff gives to the producers whom it protects the opportunity of charging higher prices than they would otherwise be able to command within the limits of the duties which it imposes. The prices fixed by a Trust are similarly governed by the conditions of international competition, and must not be fixed so high as to give a foreign rival the chance of capturing the home market. But, a syndicated trade in a country with a protective customs tariff is necessarily a different thing from a trade with regulation prices in a country like England where the cases are comparatively few in which Trusts can do much for manufacturers in the way of rasing prices, because the home markets are not protected by tariffs, and any considerable advance in prices would be likely to admit the foreigner. On the other hand, in protected countries, Trusts practically put an end to competition between home producers and enable them to reap benefit of the higher prices in their own markets which the tariff secures against outside rivals and competitors.

However different the influences which give rise to these combinations may be, the main purpose and effect of all upon the public is the same, to wit—the aggregation of capital, the power of controlling the manufacturer and the output of necessaries, the acquisition or destruction of competitive properties—all leading to the final and conclusive purposes of annihilating competition and enabling the combinations to fix the price at which they would purchase the raw material from the producer, and at which they would sell the refined product to the consumer. In any case, the public at each end of the industry is, and is intended to be, in a certain sense, at the mercy of the Trust.

That Trusts are not, in their essence and principles, institutions calculated to command the popular confidence and approval is sufficiently established by the crusade that has been set in motion against them in the United States where measures have been proposed for limiting their powers, or compelling their abandonment, and such action by the American Government is significant for it seldom happens that the public indignation is aroused against any system that has, on the face of it, obvious and overwhelming merits.

It must, however, be admitted, that, in spite of the mischief Trusts are capable of doing, the public conscience in Great Britain has become within recent years much less tender than it formerly was as regards the aiding and abetting of trade rings. Ten years ago, no merchant or banker of any eminence would have been willing to risk his good name by association with any such enterprise, but, apparently, the present generation views with favour this particular kind of speculation which has made so many American millionaires, and this yielding to the temptation is a serious matter for the credit and safety of British commerce, and it is only natural that the public are alarmed at the growth of such a power in their midst—able, apparently, to dictate the prices of the necessaries of life, and subject to no restraint or control from outside.

G. GREENWOOD.

THE JYOTISHA VEDA'NGA EXPLAINED.

X.—The Moon.

पूर्वापरं चरतो माययैतौ शिशू क्रीळन्तौ परि यातो अध्वरम् ।
विश्वान्यन्यो भुवनाभिचष्ट ऋतूँरन्यो विदधज्जायते पुनः ॥
नवोनवो भवति जायमानोऽह्नां केतुरुषसामेत्यग्रम् ।
भागं देवेभ्यो वि दधात्यायन्प्र चन्द्रमास्तिरते दीर्घमायुः ॥ *

The function of the Sun is to illuminate the universe, while the office of the Moon is to mark out the days and measure the months by means of days and Ṛitus (Fimts). The diurnal and fortnightly motions of the Sun have been discussed in the preceding section. In the present section it is proposed to investigate the movements of the Moon.

Let us begin with the fortnightly (syzygial) motion of the Moon among the nakshatras :—

भांशाः स्युरष्टकाः कार्याः पक्षा द्वादशकोद्गताः ।
एकादशगुणश्चोनः शुक्लेऽर्धं चैन्दवा यदि ॥ य (१५) ऋ (१०)

Translation :—Work out the half-months : from every group of twelve half-months there results an aggregate of eight nakshatra-amśas. Should the twelve half-months be coterminous with a complete lunar month, (the Moon is) half (a nakshatra) and eleven (amśas) behind at the full-moon sygygy.

Explanation :—The Moon performs 67 sidereal revolutions in 124 half-months. Therefore she traverses $\frac{67\times27\times12}{124}$ nakshatras = 175 nakshatras plus 8 amśas in 12 half months. Rejecting whole nakshatras, the Moon may be said to move through eight nakshatra-amśas in twelve half-months. As the lunar month begins and ends at New-moon, it is obvious that—unless our reckoning begins with a Full-moon—the above formula, involving as it does an *even* number of half-months, will always give the Moon's nakshatra at New-moon. In order to make the formula generally applicable it is necessary to know the rate of the Moon's progress during a single fortnight. This information is furnished by the second half of the verse. For dividing 175 nakshatras plus 8 amśas by 12, we get 14 nakshatras plus 73 amśas as the Moon's motion in a fortnight. Rejecting whole nakshatras, the Moon's half-monthly velocity is 73 amśas, that is, half a nakshatra plus 11 amśas. The complete rule may, therefore, be stated thus :—Divide the number of half-months by 12 ; multiply the *quotient* by 8 and the *remainder* by 73. The sum is the total displacement—neglecting whole nakshatras—which the Moon undergoes during the interval. Thus in 17 half-months, the Moon undergoes a displacement of $8\times1+5\times73=373$ amśas or whole nakshatras plus *one* nakshatra-amśa.

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* *Rigveda Samhitá*, X, 85, 18—19. Cf. *Taitt. Sam.* (IV, 3, 11, 6) and *Taitt. Br.* (II, 7, 12); also Mr. Tilak's '*Arctic Home in the Vedas*,' pp. 98—122.

Remarks:—It is believed that this verse has been explained now for the first time. Some readers will naturally object to our author having based his formula on a somewhat complicated relation of 12 half-months and 8 nakshatra-amśas, when he could have adopted the much simpler relation of *one* nakshatra-amśa and 17 half-months. The reply is that the author's reasons for adopting the former relation in preference to the latter will be apparent when we come to the consideration of य (१६). But the fact of his having, for the moment, ignored the simpler relation does not imply that he was unaware of its existence, for this relation forms the basis of य (१८) which will be explained presently.

जौ द्रा गः खे श्वे ही रो षा श्चि मू ष ण्यः सू मा धा णः ।
रे मृ घाः स्वा पो जः कृ ष्यो ह ज्ये ष्ठा इत्यृक्षा लिङ्गैः ॥ य (१८) ऋ (१४)

Translation:—Jau, Drá, Gaḥ, Khe, Śve, Hir, Ro, Sháḥ, Chi, Mú, Sha, Ṇyaḥ, Sú, Má, Dháḥ, Ṇaḥ, Re, Mṛi, Gháḥ, Svá, Paḥ, Jaḥ, Kṛi, Shyaḥ, Ha, Jye, Shṭháḥ—these are the (twenty-seven) nakshatras (indicated) by (their syllabic) symbols.

Explanation:—The credit of discovering the true meaning of this enigmatic verse belongs to Dr. Thibaut. After deducing—from the Vedánga elements—the rate of the Moon's motion in the nakshatras, he draws up a list giving the places where all the hundred and twenty-four parvans (62 full moons and 62 new moons) of the lustrum take place. This list occupies three pages so need not be reproduced here, but with reference to this list the learned Doctor proceeds as follows:—

"We must now look about if there can be found in the Jyotisha itself any traces indicating that its author acknowledged a list of the same nature as that given above. Our attention will naturally direct itself to the enigmatical eighteenth verse which according to the commentator contains an enumeration of the nakshatras in which a certain number of full moons take place. The twenty-seven disconnected syllables of which the verse consists are doubtless meant to represent the twenty-seven nakshatras, each syllable being taken either from the name of the nakshatra itself or from the name of the divinity presiding over it. The following is a list of the nakshatras arranged in the order implied in the verse: . . . ."

"For what purpose now are the twenty-seven nakshatras enumerated in the above order? Somákara's commentary on the verse is in all manuscripts so corrupt that it is impossible to give it in extenso or indeed even to make out its drift in many places; it is, however, apparent what was his view concerning the order of succession of the nakshatras. . . . . . . If somebody should object in favour of Somákara, that the fault of this discrepancy lies with my list, I should answer him that the *onus probandi* lies with him; the list is in strict accordance with the recognised elements of the Jyotisha and as long as no other elements can be pointed out as having been overlooked by me, it must be considered valid. But in reality the list is not only not invalidated, but on the contrary corroborated by the very verse we are speaking of at present. The following short list will set the matter into a clear light: . . . ."

"From comparing this list with the verse of the Jyotisha, the purport of the latter becomes manifest at once. The list begins with that nakshatra in the first one hundred and twenty-fourth part of which a parvan takes place, proceeds to that in the second $\frac{1}{124}$ of which the same takes place, and so on up to $\frac{27}{124}$, so that all nakshatras are comprised in the list. If we turn back to the complete list of all hundred and twenty-four parvans given above, we observe that all the numbers form regular progressions; it was therefore not difficult to lay down a simple rule, teaching at what place in a certain nakshatra parvans would take place after the place of the first parvan had been named."

The above represents what Dr. Thibaut discovered about this verse, and the following is what he left for future investigation:—

"If such a rule is really hidden somewhere in the obscure verses of the Jyotisha, I am unable to say; possibly it might have been left to the ingeniousness of the student to find out the required law. Nor am I able to explain by what principle the author of the Jyotisha was guided in selecting the syllables which represent the names of the twenty-seven nakshatras. Doubtless he had his good reasons for taking sometimes a syllable of the nakshatra's name, and sometimes a syllable of the name of the divinity presiding over the nakshatra, and again for taking either the first or the second or the third, etc., syllables of the names. . . . . I will only remark that after it had been ascertained in what part of a nakshatra the parvan takes place, the next important point would have been to find out at what time of the day the half month is finished, for thereon depends the fixing of the time for the darśapúrṇamása sacrifices. Possibly the selection of the syllables is connected with this point; I have, however, not succeeded in discovering the exact relation."

The task of the present writer now consists in proving by arithmetic what Dr. Thibaut has already discovered by tabulation, and to answer the questions left unsolved by the learned Doctor twenty-eight years ago.

The Moon traverses 1809 nakshatras in 124 parvans, hence she moves through $\frac{1809}{124}$ nakshatras in one parvan, or $\frac{1809\times p}{124}$ nakshatras in p parvans. This last-mentioned expression may be put in the form $n+\frac{m}{124}$ where n and m are whole numbers and represent nakshatras and nakshatra amśas respectively, m being less than 124. The general problem to be solved is 'for what value of p will m have a given value and what will be the corresponding value of n?' or, in other words, the problem is the solution of the indeterminate equation $\frac{1809}{124}p = n+\frac{m}{124}$ in positive integers. Now the equation may be written $1809p-124\,n=m$. Converting $\frac{1809}{124}$ into a continued fraction $14+\frac{1}{1+}\,\frac{1}{1+}\,\frac{1}{2+}\,\frac{1}{3+}\,\frac{1}{7}$, we find that the fifth convergent is $\frac{248}{17}$. Hence, $1809\times 17-248\times 124$ being equal to unity, $1809p-124n=m(1809\times 17-248\times 124)$, or $1809(p-17m) = 124(n-248)$. Here $p-17m$ must be either a multiple of 124 or zero. Therefore, the least value of p is $17m$ and the corresponding value of n is 248.

By assigning different values to m, the corresponding values of p and n can be found immediately. Thus $m=1$, $p=17$ and $n=248$; $m=8$, $p=136$ and $n=1984$; and so on. Rejecting whole lustra in the values of p and whole revolutions in those of n, a table can be constructed from which the values of p and n corresponding to any given value of m can be found by inspection. It will be seen that when m increases by unity, n increases by 5 and since n cannot exceed 27, the values of n will be represented by the *remainder* after dividing $5\times m$ by 27. Hence the tabulated values of n will be repeated after m has reached the value 27 in the same order as they have been tabulated for the smaller values of m. Thus $n=5$ for $m=1$, 28, 55, 82 or 109: $n=20$ for $m=4$, 31, 58, 85, or 112; and so on. But while the values of n will be repeated in this manner those of p will not be repeated at all, for 17 being prime to 124, the *remainder* of $\frac{17\times m}{124}$ will be different for different values of m. The above results may be summarised in a nutshell thus:—"Write down the numbers 6—11—16—21—26—4—9—14—19—24—2—7—12—17—22—27—5—10—15—20—25—3—8—13—18—23—1 in a line, and consider them as the serial numbers of the nakshatras reckoned from Śravishṭhá. Then whenever the Moon-in-syzygy stands in any one of these nakshatras she must occupy that amśa of it as is indicated by the position of that nakshatra in this line." Thus, when the Moon-in-syzygy stands in 23, she must occupy the 26th amśa of it; and so on. The only thing that remains undecided is in what group of 27 amśas the said 26th amśa is situated. Thus the Moon standing in the 23rd nakshatra may occupy the 26th, 53rd, 80th, or 107th amśa according to the parvan at which her association with that nakshatra takes place. This uncertainty can be removed by remembering that if the serial number of any parvan differs from the tabulated number—with or without the addition of 124 to either—by 37, 74, 111 or 24, the corresponding value of *m* will be found by adding 27, 54, 81 and 108 respectively to the tabulated value. However this matter does not form part of the verse under discussion. The verse enumerates the 27 nakshatras arranged in a peculiar order, the reason for which has already been explained; and it indicates each nakshatra, not by a numeral as we have done above or by giving the nakshatra's full name as would have been natural, but by means of certain selected syllables taken either from the name of the nakshatra itself or from that of its regent.—And this brings us to Dr. Thibaut's second question, "Why did the author take sometimes a syllable of the nakshatra's name, and sometimes a syllable of the name of the divinity presiding over the nakshatra? And again why did he take either the first or the second or the third, etc., syllables of the names?" The original Sanskrit names of the twenty-seven nakshatras are given in the Atharva Veda Samhitá (XIX, 7, 1—5), as well as in the Taittiri'ya Bráhmaṇa (III, 1, 1 and 2). The latter authority gives the names of the presiding divinities in addition. The names of the nakshatras are identical in the two lists except a few which differ slightly in grammatical forms. The following list is based on the two lists mentioned above. The small number over a syllable of the nakshatra's name indicates the serial number of another nakshatra which contains that syllable. Occasionally a Roman numeral is used to indicate the serial number of a nakshatra's regent.

Serial number of nakshatra.	Name of nakshatra.	Name of Divinity.	Distinctive syllable.
1	27 21 श्र—वि—ष्ठाः	वसवः	ष्ठाः
2	शतभिषक्	वरुणः	ष
3	16, 25 —4— पूर्व—प्रोष्ठपदासः	22 अ—जः (एकपाद्)	जः
4	17, 26 —3— उत्तर—प्रोष्ठपदासः	22 अ—हिः (बुध्नियः)	हिः
5	27 20 रे—व—ती	पूषा	रे
6	22 अ—श्वयुजौ	अश्विनौ	जौ
7	XVII-4 भ—र—ण्यः	यमः	ण्यः

8	कृत्तिकाः	अग्निः	कृ
9	रोहिणी	प्रजापतिः	रो
10	मृगशिरः	सोमः	मृ
11	14 आ—र्द्रा	रुद्रः	द्रा
12	13 5 पु—न—र्व—सू	अदितिः	सू
13	12 पु—ष्यः	बृहस्पतिः	ष्यः
14	11 आ—श्लेषाः	सर्पाः	षाः
15	24 म—घाः	पितरः	घाः
16	3, 25 —17— पूर्व—फल्गुन्यौ	22 अ—र्यमा	मा
17	4, 26 —16— उत्तर—फल्गुन्यौ	7 भ—गः	गः
18	हस्तः	सविता	ह
19	चित्रा	त्वष्टा	चि
20	5 स्वा—ती (निष्ट्या T. B.)	वायुः	स्वा
21	1 वि—शाखे	इन्द्राग्नी	खे
22	6 26 अ—नु—रा—धाः	मित्रः	धाः
23	1 ज्य—ष्ठा	इन्द्रः	ज्ये
24	15 मूल—म्	निर्ऋतिः	मू
25	3, 16 —26— पूर्वा—षाढाः	14 आ—पः	पः
26	4, 17 —25— उत्तरा—षाढाः	1 वि—श्वेदेवाः	श्वे
27	1 5 श्र—व—णः	विष्णुः	णः

The principle governing the selection of the syllables is now obvious. The fundamental condition to be observed is that no syllable should be common to more than one nakshatra. Unless this condition is violated the initial syllable of the nakshatra's name must be taken. When it is impossible to select a syllable from a nakshatra's name in accordance with the first condition, the syllable must be selected from the name of the nakshatra regent. The choice of a syllable where more than one are admissible is determined by the general consideration that the selected syllables should be so dissimilar as to leave no room for confusion. It will be seen that Nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 24 satisfy the second condition—the only exception being No. 2 from which श should have been selected in accordance with this condition. The selection of the syllables from Nos. 1, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22 and 27 is governed by the proviso to the preceding condition—the only exception being No. 2 from which ष has been selected in preference to श. Possibly ष is merely a misspelling of श in the traditional text or, as appears more probable, the substitution is due to श and ण being असवर्ण letters. Finally there remain Nos. 3, 4, 16, 17, 25 and 26 which obviously cannot be represented by syllables from their own names, and recourse must be had to the names of their regents. These—the two Phalgunís, the two Asháḍhás and the two Proshṭhapadás—are the only nakshatras represented in the list by syllables taken from their regents' names.

In view of the explanation furnished by the present writer, the question raised by Dr. Thibaut regarding the connection of these syllables with the time of the day at which a parvan occurs does not arise. There is, however, a verse in the Jyotisha which furnishes a rule bearing on the latter point.

नवकैरुद्गतोऽंशः स्यादूनः सप्तगुणो भवेत् ।
आवापस्त्वयुजे द्वौ स्यात्पौलस्त्येऽस्तं गतेऽपरम् ॥ य (१६)

Translation:—There results one (hour-angle) amśa in nine lunar half-months and the deficiency (half a month earlier) is seven amśas. The increment falls due one day after the heliacal setting of Paulastya (*i.e.*, the Moon).

पक्षात्पञ्चदशाच्चोर्ध्वं तद्भुक्तमिति निर्दिशेत् ।
नवभिस्तूद्गतोऽंशः स्यादूनांशाद्व्यधिकेन तु ॥ ऋ (१३)

Translation:—One should indicate how much (of the equinoctial circle) is traversed on the expiration of the fifteenth (lunar) day of a lunar half-month: the said movement takes place at the rate of one amśa in nine lunar half-months, which number (*i.e.*, nine) exceeds the half-monthly rate (*i.e.*, seven amśas) by two, *Explanation:*—The subject matter of both verses is identical though the wording is different. The Sun performs 1830 diurnal revolutions in a lustrum of 124 parvans, hence he moves through 1830 hour-angle amśas in a lunar half-month, or, in other words, the parvan Sun advances in the equinoctial circle at the rate of 94 hour-angle amśas per lunar half-month. The time of the Moon's being in syzygy can therefore be found by mutiplying the serial number of the parvan by 94 and rejecting whole circles. This rule is easy enough on paper but is not quite so simple for mental computation. The author of the Jyotisha, therefore, proceeds as follows. The Moon and the Śravishṭhá nakshatra respectively perform 1768 and 1835 diurnal revolutions in a lustrum. Hence their fortnightly motion in the equinoctial circle is 32 and 99 amśas respectively. The sum of the two motions is 131 amśas or—rejecting the whole circle—7 amśas. In nine parvans this sum amounts to 63 amśas or, rejecting whole quarters—vide य(१२)—*one* amśa. From these data the position of the Śravishṭhá nakshatra as well as that of the Moon in the equinoctial circle for any parvan can be readily determined, and the position of the Sun is either identical with that of the Moon or differs from it by half a circle. As will be explained in the next section of this essay, it was a matter of greater importance to know the time of the new moon than that of the full moon. To emphasize this point as well as to guard against mistakes being made in the performance of Darśapúrṇamása sacrifices, the author explains that the said position of the Moon and the Śravishṭhá nakshatra takes place on the day following that on which the Moon sets heliacally.

Example:—Required the time of the occurrence of the 75th parvan.

Here 75 divided by 9 is equal to $8\frac{3}{9}$, therefore $8\times1+3\times7=29$ amśas. Now the fortnightly motion of the Moon in the equinoctial circle is 32 amśas, or, omitting the quarters, *one* amśa. The Moon's hour angle for the 75th parvan, therefore, is obviously 75 amśas, or, omitting the quarters, 13 amśas. Deducting 13 from 29, the hour-angle of the Śravishṭhá nakshatra is found to be $29-13=16$ amśas. The corresponding hour-angle of the Sun is, of course, 13 amśas.

Remarks:—It is believed that this verse has been explained now for the first time. The principal feature of the rule is the determination of the simultaneous positions of the Sun, Moon and stars at any parvan by a single arithmetical operation.

The reader will have noticed that in the above translation, the name Paulastya has been identified as that of the Moon. Dr. Thibaut objects to this identification in the following words, "V. 16 contains the words पौलस्त्येऽस्तंगते which Somákara explains by चन्द्रमस्यस्तंगते. There is, however, no authority for taking the word "Paulastya" to be a name of the moon, while Pulastya is mentioned as father of Agastya in the Vishṇu-puráṇa. The star Agastya (Canopus) is, as it is well known, frequently mentioned in the earliest Indian astronomical treatises, and, as it is visible in Northern India only during a part of the year, the verse of the Jyotisha seems to state that something—although it is obscure what—is taking place during that part of the year in which Agastya is not visible."* Although this objection is partly answered by Dr. Thibaut's own tacit admission that the word ऋषि occurring in य (३०) is an epithet of the Moon †, and although it is probable that during the last twenty-eight years Dr. Thibaut has changed his views, it is not unlikely that some readers are still sceptical about the proposed identification. For this reason, if for no other, it may be mentioned that—

(1) Soma is undoubtedly a name of the Moon. *Vide* Atharva-Veda Samhitá (XI, 6, 7).‡

(2) Soma is a wise ṛishi. *Vide* Ṛigveda Samhitá (VIII, $\frac{68}{79}$, 1).§

(3) The Súrya-siddhánta twice uses the word सौम्य (*i. e.*, pertaining to Soma) to denote the northern direction. *Vide* S. S., III, 26 and XII, 68.‖

(4) The Váyu Puráṇa (I, 50, 90 and 99) assigns the northern quarter to Soma.¶

(5) The S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa (III, 1, 1, 2 and 7) assigns the Northern quarter to Mankind.*

(6) According to the Amarakosha (I, 1, 68-69 and I, 3, 3) Kubera is *Paulastya* (*i. e.*, descendant of Pulastya), Manushyadharman (*i. e.*, guardian of Mankind), and Naraváhana (*i. e.*, one having Man for his vehicle), and is the regent of the Northern quarter.† Kubera is also a ṛishi: *vide* Váyu Purâṇa (I, 61, 84 and 85)‡. The story of Kubera's birth and exploits is narrated at length in the Rámáyaṇa as well as in the Mahábhárata.

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* *Journal* of the *A. S. B.*, Vol., XLVI (1877), p. 436.

† *Ibid*, "That by 'ayanány risheh' we have to understand sidereal (na'kshatra) half-months (so called from analogy to the ayanas of the Sun) cannot be doubted;........."

‡ सोमो मा देवो मुञ्चतु यमाहुश्चन्द्रमा इति ॥

§ अयं क्रतुरगृभीतो विश्वजिदुद्भिदित्सोमः । ऋषिर्विप्रः काव्येन ॥

‖ भूमण्डलात्पञ्चदशे भागे देवेऽथवासुरे । उपरिष्टाद्व्रजत्यर्कः सौम्ययाम्यायनान्तगः ॥

¶ दिश्युत्तरस्यां मेरोस्तु मानसस्यैव मूर्द्धनि । तुल्या माहेन्द्रपुर्य्यां तु सोमस्यापि विभावरी ॥
सुखायामथ वारुण्यां मध्याह्ने चार्य्यमा यदा । विभावर्य्यां सोमपुर्य्यामुत्तिष्ठति विभावसुः ॥

But it must be remembered that this dominion of Soma over the *northern* quarter is a Paura'ṇic notion. The S'atapatha Bra'hmaṇa tells quite a different story (III, 2, 3, 17):—"Through Soma they recognised the *southern* region...... ......and to him belongs the *southern* region."

* "The north is the quarter of men."

† कुबेरस्त्र्यम्बकसखो यक्षराड् गुह्यकेश्वरः । मनुष्यधर्मा धनदो राजराजो धनाधिपः ॥ किन्नरेशो वैश्रवणः पौलस्त्यो नरवाहनः । यक्षैकपिङ्गलविलश्रीदपुण्यजनेश्वराः ॥ इन्द्रो वह्निः पितृपतिर्नैर्ऋतो वरुणो मरुत् । कुबेर ईशः पतयः पूर्वादीनां दिशां क्रमात् ॥

‡......कुबेरश्चैव पौलस्त्यः......ऋषन्ति देवान् यस्मात्ते तस्माद् देवर्षयः स्मृताः ॥

(7) Although Agastya (Canopus) was a son of Pulastya, and as such, had a perfect right to be called Paulastya—at least by etymologists—the very fact of his having never been spoken of by that epithet which was reserved for Kubera and the sons of Kaikasí goes to show that the Paulastya of the Jyotisha Vedánga, the earliest Indian astronomical treatise, has nothing whatever to do with Agastya (Canopus).

It will be seen from the above that Kubera of the Puráṇas has much in common with Soma of the Post-Vedic literature. Arguing from analogy and *double ententes*—the approved methods of argument of the venerable Bráhmanas—it is not difficult to identify Paulastya (Kubera) with the Moon. In fact, it seems certain, that, apparently on these and other similar grounds which need not be detailed here, the Hindus have never doubted the identity of Paulastya with the Moon. This is abundantly made clear by the fact of Kubera being given as one of the meanings oi the word Soma by Hemchandra§ and the Medini Kosha.

The objection raised by Dr. Thibaut is thus completely answered and for once is Somákara found to have correctly interpreted the Vedánga.

The rules contained in the preceding verses enable us to determine the position of the Moon in the ecliptic as well as on the equinoctial circle at any parvan. For, knowing the serial number of the parvan and dividing it by twelve, the Moon's nakshatra-amśas can be easily found from य (१५) ऋ (१०); and, having found the amśa, the nakshatra itself can be told by mere inspection, य (१८) ऋ (१४). Moreover the time of the day, as well as the positions of the Moon and the Śravishṭhá nakshatra can he told by means of य (१६) ऋ (१३). Having settled these details, the next question to engage the attention of the almanack-maker would be 'at what hour did the syzygial Moon enter a given nakshatra?' or 'at what hour did she last occupy the same position in the ecliptic as she did on the given day?' The priest might also wish to know the nakshatra of the Moon on any given day and the time of the day when she entered that nakshatra. These questions have been answered by the Jyotisha Vedánga and will be discussed now.

कार्या भांशाष्टकस्थाने कला एकान्नविंशतिः ।
ऊनस्थाने द्विसप्ततिरुद्धपेदूनसम्मिताः ॥ य (१९) ऋ (११)

Translation:—Substitute nineteen kalás for the ogdoad of nakshatra-amśas. Introduce *minus* seventy (kalás) in place of the subtrahend.

Explanation:—As already explained, the Moon traverses $14\frac{73}{124}$ nakshatras in a lunar half-month, or $175\frac{8}{124}$ nakshatras in twelve half-months. Knowing the time of the Moon's entry into any nakshatra, the time of her entry into the 176th nakshatra can be easily found by determining the interval of time required to traverse 175 nakshatras. There being 603 kalás to a nycthemeron, the required interval $= \frac{603 \times 1830 \times 175}{1809} = 610 \times 175$ kalás $=177$ nycthemera *plus nineteen kalás*. By a similar process, the time required by the Moon to complete six circuits of the nakshatras $= \frac{603 \times 1830 \times 162}{1809}$ $=164$ days *minus 72 kalás*.—Note that the number of *kalás* for a single half-month in th former case is *plus* 98, and that for a single complete circuit in the latter case is *plus* 189. It will be found on trial that the figures easiest to handle are those given in the text. *Vide* Remarks on य(१५).

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§……सोमस्त्वोषधीतद्रसेन्दुषु ॥ ३४१ ॥ दिव्योषध्यां घनसारे समीरे पितृदैवते । वसुप्रभेदे सलिले वानरे किन्नरेश्वरे ॥ ३४२ ॥

याः पर्वभादानकलास्तासु सप्तगुणा तिथिः ।
युक्ता तासां विजानीयात् तिथिभादानिकाः कलाः ॥ य (२१) ऋ (२१)

Translation:—To the kalás (of the day) which correspond to the entry of the (last) syzygial Moon into the syzygial nakshatra, add seven times the (given) tithi. The sum of these kalás represents the kalás corresponding to the entry of the Moon into that tithi's nakshatra.

Explanation:—As already explained the Moon traverses one nakshatra in one day plus *seven* kalás. Since any tithi of a lunar half-month terminates on the corresponding civil day of that half-month, the Moon enters the successive nakshatras 7 kalás *later* day by day. Hence the *difference* of time of the Moon's entry into the syzygial nakshatra and any subsequent day's nakshatra is the tithi on that day multiplied by seven kalás.

तिथिमेकादशाभ्यस्तां पर्वभांशसमन्विताम् ।
विभज्य भसमूहेन तिथिनक्षत्रमादिशेत् ॥ य (२०)

Translation:—The tithi multiplied by eleven and (the product) adfected by the nakshatra-amśas of the (preceding) parvan, when divided by 27, gives the (Moon's) nakshatra on that tithi.

Explanation:—The tithi has been defined as the thirtieth part of a lunar month or the time required by the Moon to separate from the Sun through nine-tenths of a nakshatra. Now, the Moon's motion in one tithi is the increase in her distance from the Sun during that time *plus* the arc moved through by the Sun himself during the same interval. But the Sun moves through 9 nakshatra-amśas as well as 2 hour-angle amśas during a tithi. Hence the Moon's nakshatra—*i.e.*, her longitude—increases by $\frac{9}{10}$ nakshatra plus 9 nakshatra-amśas in one tithi. At the same time the Sun's hour-angle *decreases* by 2 hour-angle-amśas, hence the Moon's hour-angle decreases by 2 amśas plus the equivalent in hour-angle of the abovementioned nakshatra and amśas. To put it algebraically, let t be the supposed tithi, then the Moon moves through $\frac{1}{30} \times t$ of a circle$+9 \times t$ nakshatra-amśas in t tithis. Her hour-angle also changes in the meantime by $\frac{1}{30} \times t$ of a circle$+2 \times t$ hour-angle-amśas. Assuming that N nakshatras$+A$ amśas was the Moon's longitude and H amśas her hour-angle at the last parvan, her longitude on the given tithi will be $\frac{1}{30} \times t$ of a circle$+N$ nakshatras$+$ $(A+9 \times t)$ naksnatra-amśas and her hour-angle $H-\frac{1}{30} \times t$ of a circle $-2 \times t$ hour-angle-amśas. In these expressions the principal quantities involved are A and t, the rest being immediately deducible from these two. For example, let $A=40$ and $t=8$; then, according to the rule, the Moon's nakshatra is known from $11 \times t=88$, of which 72 have to be added to 40 and 16 to be subtracted from 60 (the value of H corresponding to $A=40$), yielding 112 nakshatra-amśas and 44 hour-angle-amśas respectively. To the former of these, of course, must be added $\frac{8}{30}$ of a circle and $N=11$ [*vide* य (१८)] nakshatras, and from the latter must be deducted $\frac{8}{30}$ of a circle: the net result being the 13th amśa of the Svátí nakshatra and 11 hour-angle-amśas of the equinoctial circle. The division by 27 is, of course, merely a direction for eliminating complete revolutions.

Remarks:—It is believed that this verse has been explained now for the first time. The rule appears, at first sight, to be somewhat complicated. But the complexity is more apparent than real. In the first place one has to remember that the author avoids—as far as practicable—fractional numbers in the statement of his rules; and, in the second place, it has to be observed that the quantities which seem to make the formula complex are very simple fractions easily remembered and as easily applied. According to the Vedánga elements the Moon moves through $120\frac{3}{5}$ nakshatra-amśas in a tithi—a rather difficult figure to handle in mental calculations. The author's ingenuity consists in splitting this number into $111\frac{3}{5}$ and 9, the former of which is the thirtieth part of a circle and the latter the measure of the Sun's motion per tithi. Similarly the change in the Moon's hour-angle per tithi is $6\frac{2}{15}$ hour-angle amśas, which the author splits into $4\frac{2}{15}$ and 2, the former being the thirtieth part of a circle and the latter the rate at which the Sun changes his hour angle per tithi. The two motions of the Sun are treated of separately in य(२२) and य(२५); those of the Moon are combined in one verse which makes the rule rather enigmatical.

"BA'RHASPATYAH".

(*To be continued.*)

greater than sixteen or less than fourteen days; also that two lunations are very nearly equal to 59 days. Hence we obtain a series of months containing 30 and 29 days alternately, such that the lunisolar syzygy occurs, as a rule, on the 16th and 30th days of a full month of 30 days and on the 15th and 29th days of a deficient month of 29 days. The author of the Vedánga expresses the above in the following way. Arrange the alternating nycthemera of alternating lunar months in two groups; thus, the first group of a deficient month will comprise the *odd* numbers 1 to 29 and the second group the *even* numbers 2 to 28; similarly, the first group of a full month—being a continuation of the first group of the preceding deficient month—will comprise the *even* numbers 2 to 30, and the second group the *odd* numbers 1 to 29. Arranging these numbers in regular sequence in their respective groups, it will be seen that the syzygial day occupies the eighth and the fifteenth positions in the first group of either month—the fifteenth and the twenty-ninth day of a deficient month or the sixteenth and the thirtieth day of a full month, being, in fact, the eighth and the fifteenth *odd* or *even* day, respectively, of its own month. Similar remarks apply to the other group comprising the even numbers of the deficient month and the odd numbers of the full month, the choice of the group depending on the time of the occurrence of the syzygy on any particular day.

Remarks:—It is believed that the present verse has been explained now for the first time.

XII.—JUPITER.

What has Jupiter got to do with the Jyotisha Vedánga? Let us enquire. We will begin with a quotation from Colebrooke:—"This ancient Hindu calendar, corresponding in its divisions of time, and in the assigned origin of the ecliptic, with several passages of the Vedas, is evidently the foundation of that which, after successive corrections, is now received by the Hindus throughout India. The progress of those corrections may be traced, from the cycle of five, to one of sixty lunar years (which is noticed in many popular treatises on the calendar, and in the commentary of the Jyotish); and thence, to one of sixty years of Jupiter; and finally, to the greater astronomical periods of twelve thousand years of the gods, and a hundred years of Brahmá." We will next refer the reader to the discussion on 'The Birth of Jupiter in the star Tishya' which appeared in the pages of this *Review* in 1904 and 1905. In that discussion a reference was made by the present writer to the 'sixty'-year cycle of Jupiter. It was there explained* that the cycle of Jupiter consists of sixty *samvatsaras*

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* '*The Hindustan Review*', Vol. XI (1905), page 384.

(equivalent to about 59·3 solar years), and is not identical with the Sosos of the Chaldæans or the sixty-year cycle of the Chinese. A *samvatsara* is somewhat shorter than a solar year, being in fact the time of the mean motion of Jupiter through each sign of the Zodiac. In a complete cycle of sixty *samvatsaras* Jupiter performs five complete (mean) revolutions of the Zodiac. This period is divided into *twelve yugas* of *five samvatsaras* each, and each yuga and samvatsara has its own separate name and presiding divinity. The presiding divinities of the twelve *yugas* are Vishṇu, Bṛihaspati, Indra, Agni, Tvashṭṛi, Ahirbudhnya, Pitṛis, Viśvedevás, Soma, Indrágní, Aśvins, and Bhaga. The names of the five samvatsaras in each yuga are (1) Samvatsara, (2) Parivatsara, (3) Idávatsara, (4) Anuvatsara and (5) Idvatsara, and those of their respective regents, (1) Agni, (2) Súrya, (3) Chandra, (4) Prajápati and (5) Rudra. The Jovian 'sixty'-year cycle is supposed to commence when Jupiter rises heliacally in the first *quarter* of the Śravishṭhá nakshatra, and since the planet traverses $2\frac{1}{4}$ nakshatras in each samvatsara, he will stand in Púrvaproshṭhapadá, Revatí, Bharaṇí, Mṛigaśira, Punarvasu, Áśleshá, Púrvaphalguni, Chitrá, Viśákhá, Jyeshṭhá, Púrváshádhá, or Śravishṭhá—but in no other nakshatras—at the commencement of the succeeding samvatsaras. From these data it follows that Jupiter stands in the Púrvaproshṭhapadá nakshatra at the commencement of the *Pari—*, *Anu—*, *Sam—*, *Idá—*, and *Id—*, vatsara of Vishṇu's, Indra's, Ahirbudhnya's, Viśvedevas', and Indrágní's *yuga* respectively. And, since the *Anu*-vatsara's regent is Prajápati, it follows that Prajápati's year corresponding to Jupiter's association with the Púrvaproshṭhapadá nakshatra is the 14th samvatsara of Jupiter's cycle.

The reader will recollect that the author of the Jyotisha Vedánga salutes Prajápati as the Ruler of the five-samvatsara-cycle. As Prajápati is nowhere mentioned as the regent of any of the twelve five-samvatsara yugas of Jupiter's cycle, the only conclusion to be drawn is that *the Vedánga lustrum must have commenced with the 14th samvatsara of the Jovian cycle of 'sixty' years.*—But what is there to justify connecting the Vedánga lustrum with Jupiter's samvatsara-cycle? The answer is furnished by the following verse:—

ये बृहस्पतिना भुक्ता मीनात्प्रभृति राशयः ।
ते हृता पञ्चभिर्भूता यः शेषः स परिग्रहः ॥ य (?)

Translation:—The number of zodiacal signs commencing with *Pisces* traversed by Jupiter is to be divided by five, (the quotient is the number of lustra already elapsed) and the remainder—being the expired portion of the current lustrum—is the Datum, *Explanation:*—The planet Jupiter completes a mean sidereal revolution in 11·86 tropical years, or one zodiacal sign in $\frac{247}{250}$ of a year. Therefore, in a lustrum, he traverses (at his mean rate of motion) nearly $5\frac{1}{14}$ signs. Assuming that the Jovian and the Vedánga cycles are interrelated as explained in the preamble, and premising that the Púrvaproshṭhapadá nakshatra coincides with the commencement of *Pisces*, we may say that the *Vedánga* cycle of five-year lustra commenced with the 14th year of Jupiter's cycle, when Jupiter stood at the commencement of *Pisces*. Assuming the rate of Jupiter's motion at $5\frac{1}{14}$ signs, the time he will occupy in traversing a given number of zodiacal signs can be easily determined. For example, $5x + y$ signs will be traversed in $\frac{14}{71}\times(5x+y)$ lustra or x lustra and $\frac{5}{71}\times(14y-x)$ years. Hence, for short periods of thirty years or less, we obtain the following rule:—Divide the number of signs traversed by Jupiter since the commencement of the first lustrum by five; the quotient will be the number of elapsed lustra and the remainder the number of elapsed years in the current lustrum. Since the rules and calculations contained in the Jyotisha Vedánga are restricted to the sub-divisions of a single lustrum, whole lustra are discarded and the current lustrum adopted as the basis of calculation. But, before applying the rules, we must know the position of the current year within the lustrum. This information is furnished by the comparatively slow and conveniently regulated motion of the planet Jupiter, who moves at the rate of nearly one zodiacal sign per annum and is visible (almost) throughout the year.

Remarks:—This verse is believed to be spurious by Weber and other European scholars. The grounds of this belief, though—as far as is known to the present writer—not explicitly stated by those scholars, may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Any reference to the motions of the *planets* in Indian works presupposes an acquaintance with the Greek system of astronomy.

(2) Any reference to the zodiacal signs as distinguished from the nakshatras presupposes the same.

(3) The Jyotisha Vedánga is an indigenous Indian work uninfluenced by the Greek science.*

(4) The present verse is not found at all in the Ṛik recension. It is also not found in all the manuscripts of the Yajur recension.

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* "The Paitámaha Siddhánta, known to Varáha Mihira, represents Hindú Astronomy as not yet affected by Greek influences, and thus belongs to the same category as the Jyotisha Vedánga, the Garga Samhitá, the Súryaprajnapati and similar works."—*The Panchasiddhántiká*, edited by G. Thibaut and S. Dvivedi, Introduction, page xx.

This circumstance shows that from the very beginning there has been some doubt about its authenticity.

(5) The reference to Jupiter's motion has no direct bearing on the elements of the Jyotisha; hence the reference is foreign to the scheme of this treatise.

(6) The position occupied by the verse* in those manuscripts of the Yajur recension where it occurs is suggestive of a later interpolation.

Nos. (1), (2) and (3) are no longer valid as it has been proved beyond doubt that the planets and the zodiacal signs were known to the Babylonians at least a thousand years before the first Greek astronomer was born, and that it was possible for the ancient Hindus to have 'acquired' their knowledge of the planets and the zodiacal signs from Babylonian sources, without the intermediation of the Greeks.†

Nos. (4), (5) and (6) will be noted upon in the Concluding Remarks.

"BA'RHASPATYAH".

(*To be concluded.*)

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* The 'spurious' verse occurs between य (४) and य (५).

† To quote Dr. Thibaut :—"………Babylon is of all countries of old renown the one nearest to India and hence most likely to have been in effective intercourse with it, whether in the way of giving or taking."—*The Hindustan Review*, Vol. IX (1904), page 31.

REVIEW.

The Philosophy of the Upanishads, by **PAUL DEUSSEN**, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. (T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906. Price £0-10*s*-6*d* nett). By Pandit Gangánátha Jhá, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Muir Central College, Allahabad.

PROFESSOR Deussen has laid all students of Indian philosophy under a deep debt of gratitude by bringing together, in a readable form, the main teachings of the valuable mass of ancient documents known as the 'Upanishads.' Though it must be admitted that he has not been able to avoid what has been called the '*a priori* methods of pre-scientific days', which consist in making up one's mind as to the particular line in which certain ideas must have grown and then arranging the quotations accordingly,—yet it cannot be denied that some such method is absolutely necessary when one has to make some sort of a sense out of the ill-arranged and confused mass to which the Upanishads have been reduced by additions and alterations at officious sectarian hands.

The *sole* standpoint of the Professor with regard to what the Upanishads teach is summed up thus (pp. 51—52):—

> "Thus we find in the Upanishads a great variety of conceptions which are developed before our eyes and which not seldom stand to one another in irreconcilable contradiction. All these conceptions, however, gather so entirely around one common centre, and are dominated so completely by the one thought of the sole reality of the A'tman that they all present themselves as manifold variations upon one and the same theme which is treated at one time more briefly, or again at greater length, now from the starting point of the empirical consciousness and now in abrupt contradiction thereto.........As *the system of the Vedanta* this became in India the universal foundation of faith and knowledge.........It falls naturally into four main divisions, as follows:—
>
> I. Theology: the doctrine of Brahman as the first principle of all things.
>
> II. Cosmology: the doctrine of the evolution of this principle to form the universe.
>
> III. Psychology: the doctrine of the entrance of Brahman as soul into the universe evolved from him.
>
> IV. Eschatology and Ethics: the doctrine of the fate of the soul after death and the manner of life which is therefore required."

It is all very well so far, but when he goes on to circumscribe his scope by the remark

> "we propose to endeavour to collect under each heading all the relevant passages of the Upanishads recognised by the later Vedánta"

we are inclined to halt and ask—why collect only those passages that have been *recognised by the later Vedánta*? This method cannot be that of an unbiassed enquirer, but of an avowed partisan who makes it his business to hunt out texts in support of the particular view that suits his taste. This method has been adopted by later Sanskrit legists; but from an independent enquirer we expect something better.

On page 1 the author provides us with a classification of the *Bráhmana* into *Vidhi*, *Arthaváda* and *Vedánta*. This appears to be a somewhat novel classification. The orthodox classification of the Veda is into *Mantra* and *Bráhmaṇa*, the latter being divided into *Vidhi*, *Arthaváda* and *Námadheya*; and the Upainshads are included in the Arthaváda. Of course there is a difference of opinion between the Mímáṇsaka and the Vedantin as to the relative importance of the Vedanta texts and the ritualistic injunctions; but in the main the classification is admitted by all. The modern scholars of the West also have classified the Veda into *Saṇhitá*, *Bráhmaṇa*, *A'raṇyaka* and *Upanishads*. There is, however, nothing intrinsically objectionable in the third column; but in the second column one is rather astonished to find the *Sutra* mentioned as a division of the Veda.

The Professor has more than once expresssd the view that the Upanishads are radically opposed to the entire Vedic sacrificial cult.

So far, however, as an ordinary student is liable to gather the sense of the Upanishads, there does not appear anything opposed to the sacrificial cult. For in the first place, what is the 'sacrificial cult'? It is simply this, that by performing certain well-defined actions the man obtains certain results. This fact the Upanishads —even if we accept the view that these ancient documents are absolutely and uncompromisingly "Vedantic" in the restricted sense of the term—do not deny: not even Śankaráchárya himself would deny the efficacy of sacrifices; all that the most thorough-going Vedantin would assert is that the Heaven acquired by means of sacrifices is not the end-all and be-all of our existence, there is something beyond, which is more precious.

Secondly, it is a well-nigh historical fact that the sacrificial cult was never renounced to the extent that anything radically opposed to it could find place in the scriptures. In fact, the Upanishads teem with passages where it is distinctly stated that sacrificial performances have a place—and a very important place—in the economy of human evolution. Śankaráchárya also admits that the *Karmakánda* affords a preliminary training to the aspirant. To urge that the passages speaking of sacrifices are "later interpolations by interested Brahmans," is to beg the whole question.

There are some minor points here and there to some of which it will be useful to draw the attention of the author or the translator. On page 4, for instance, we have the statement that "it became the duty of every Indian Brahman first as Brahamacharin to spend a portion of his life, &c., &c." This duty we know was not for the Brahman only but for the Kshattriya and the Vaiśya also.

As regards the manner in which the Upanishads have been handed down we have the following statement on pp. 397-98:—

> "Probably only at a considerably later period did they assume a written form. It seems a fair inference from *Katha* 2-7-9—'Without a teacher there is no access here'—that the older Upanishads were at that time not yet committed to writing."

What 'inference'! Because the abstruse doctrine of the Átman cannot be comprehended without a teacher we must conclude that works treating of that doctrine had not been committed to writing. I wonder what the Professor will have to say to the reasoning that, because his *Philosophy of the Upanishads* cannot be comprehended by the ordinary boy without the help of a teacher it has not been committed to writing!

Then again, he speaks of the Brahmans as having attached the Upanishads to *their own Vedic curriculum.* It is not easy to understand what is meant by the last phrase. The Vedas have ever been the common property of the Brahman, the Kshattriya and the Vaiśya alike; nor is there anything in the Upanishads to show that the Veda formed the exclusive property of the Brahman. All the inference that is justified by the fact of Brahmans having learned the Átma-Vidyá from Kshattriyas is that while the Brahmans were engaged mostly in sacrificial performances, the Kshattriyas gave more attention to the deeper study of the Vedas and so acquired the more highly spiritual knowledge.

On page 18, Sanatkumára from whom "Brahman Nárada" learnt the great science is called the 'god of war'; and as the 'god of war' must be a Kshattriya the author concludes that this is another instance of a Brahman studying at the feet of a Kshattriya. In the first place it is a historical fact that the several castes and their functions were not so rigidly observed in those ancient days as to warrant the conclusion that the god of war must be a Kshattriya. Secondly, Sanatkumára is not the 'god of war'. The Professor has apparently confused him with 'Kumára,' which was one of the names of Skanda, the god of war. Sanatkumára is one of the first human personalities created by Brahmá, who refused to carry on the work of procreation and were therefore called "Kumáras." Then again, it is not right to speak of Nárada as a "Brahmana;" he is neither a *Brahmarshi* nor a *Rájarshi*, but a *Devarshi*, who also like the Kumáras, was among the first sons of Brahmá. Hence all that the story means is that the younger brother learnt the great science from the elder brother.

As regards the meaning of the word 'Upanishad' the Professor points out that in the Upanishads themselves the word occurs with three distinct meanings—(1) secret word, (2) secret text, and (3) secret imports—and says that the last of these was perhaps the original meaning.

Having traced the development of the various schools of thought called 'Śákhás' of the Veda, the Professor goes on to say (page 22):—

> "An active communication and exchange must have existed between the different schools. Definitions which by the one were highly regarded failed to meet with acceptance by another .... texts appear with slight variations in the different Vedic schools; .... this rich mental life may not improbably have lasted for centuries; and the fundamental thought of the doctrine and the A'tman have attained ever completer developments by means of the reflections of the individual thinkers in familiar intercourse before a chosen circle of pupils and probably also by public discussion at royal courts. The oldest Upanishads preserved to us are to be regarded as the final results of this mental process."

The Upanishads are next divided into—(1) *ancient prose*, (2) *old metrical*, (3) *later prose* and (4) *later Atharva*. The Brihadáranyaka and the Chhándogya are regarded as the most ancient; and throughout the book the author relies mainly upon these two, chiefly the former. We may here point out that if the Professor had drawn upon Sureshvaráchárya's Vártika on this Upanishad, many of the obscure passages could have become clearer, specially in the light of the Śánkara Vedánta which is believed to have reached its culminating point in that great Vártika.

In the course of his remarks (page 30) on the well-known commentaries by Śankaráchárya on the Upanishads the Professor makes the rather startling assertion that "the explanations given in the Upnishad commentaries often fail to agree with those in the commentaries on the Sutras," and from this he concludes that the former are not by Śankaráchárya. In support of this rather revolutionsing statement the author should have mentioned some instances of the more prominent disagreements in the interpretations.

Then again, on the same page we meet with the sentence—"(Śankara) seems to have had in his hands no collection of Upanishads; since he looks upon the greater number of them as still forming the concluding chapter of their respective Bráhmaṇas." Does he mean by this that Śankara had in his hands no copy of the Upanishads bound in one volume? If so, then it is all right. But if anything more is meant, then the reason given does not warrant the conclusion.

Summarising the fundamental conception of the Upanishads on page 398 *et. seq.* the Professor says:—

> "In the conception of unity as it is expressed in the words of Rig-Veda 1-64—46,—'the poets give many names to that which is one only,'—the fundamental thought of the whole teaching of the Upanishads lay already hidden in germ. For this verse really asserts that all plurality, consequently all proximity in space, all succession in time, all relations of cause and effect, all interdependence of subject and object.........is a mere matter of words, and that only unity is in the full sense real. An attempt was made in the first instance to conceive this unity in the mythological idea of Praja'pati, then in the ritualistic idea of Brahman, and finally without allowing the latter to drop and by a mere strengthening of the subjective element already contained in it, in the philosophical idea of the A'tman."

But again immediately after this we read:—

> "But even the A'tman idea is not at first free from definitions that it has inherited from the mythology. Thus, for example, in S'atapatha Bra'hmana 10-6-3, after the A'tman has been described as pervading all the world and at the same time inconceivably small dwelling at the centre of a man's being, it is said in conclusion—'he is my soul, to him on my departure hence, to this soul shall I enter in.' Every one feels the contradiction in these words, and that there is no need of entering in after death if the A'tman really is my soul."

Instead of everyone feeling the contradiction in this I am afraid very few people will do so. The Átman may be 'my soul' and yet I may 'enter into it' at death,—meaning thereby the attaining of the pure soul-state, free from the encumbrances of the body, etc. When Yájnavalkya (a name by the way, which does not end in *khya* as the Professor spells it) propounded his conception of the Átman in its complete subjective precision, it was not on account of any such contradiction as the Professor suspects, but simply with a view to lay before his pupils the true teaching freed from its encrustations, which, however necessary for them at an earlier stage of their training, were no longer needed.

The teaching of Yájnavalkya characterised as "a daring, uncompromising eccentric idealism," is summed up thus:—

1. *The A'tman is the knowing subject within us.*
2. *The A'tman as the knowing subject is itself unknowable.*
3. *The A'tman is the sole reality.*

(Each of these propositions we shall examine later on).

On page 39 we read:—

> If we hold fast to the distinction of the Brahman as the cosmical principle of the Universe, the A'tman as the psychical, the fundamental thought of the Upanishad philosophy may be expressed by the simple equation—Brahman =A'tman, that is to say, the Brahman, the power which presents itself to us materialised in all existing things, which creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds......is identical with the A'tman, with that which after stripping off every thing external, we discover in ourselves as our real most essential being, our individual self, the soul ....(This thought) will be found to possess a significance reaching far beyond the Upanishads their time and country; nay, we claim for it an inestimable value for the whole race of mankind."

In its relation to philosophy, Professor Deussen finds the conception of the Upanishads playing a very important part. He finds in it the first attempt of philosophy towards a clearer conception of its recurring task, and of the solution demanded; and "the world-wide historical significance of these documents cannot be more clearly indicated than by showing how the deep fundamental conception of Plato and Kant was precisely that which already formed the basis of Upanishad teaching".

According to our author, it was the ancient doctrine of the Upanishads that was the precursor of Plato's view that the objects around us are not the true realities, but mere shadows of them; and also of the theory of Kant, that they are not 'things in themselves', but only apparitions. On page 44, summing up the philosopical significance of the Upanishads, he says:—

> "So fully indeed is this (marvellous agreement of the philosophy of the Upanishads with those of Parmenides and Plato and Kant) true that all three, originating from different epochs and countries, and with modes of thought entirely independent, mutually complete, elucidate and confirm one another."

He then proceeds to show that the *doctrine of Máyá*—that the whole world of phenomena is illusory, having no reality—is found distinctly stated in the Upanishads, and therefore he takes to task people who have held that the doctrine originated with S'ankaráchárya. Though the Professor may be right in what he maintains, yet the way in which he proves his assertion is, I confess, far from convincing. The first passage that he cites in support of his contention is the well-known story (from the Chhándogya) of Virochana and Indra prosecuting their studies under Prajápati, where Virochana is represented as having failed because he regarded the things of the world as 'Átman'. This is made to imply that the things of the world are unreal, illusory. Very far from it! All that it implies is that the things of the world are not the *A'tman*; Virochana's failure lay in his regarding external objects as his 'self'. Certainly this was wrong, even according to those who hold that these things have an independent reality of their own.

The next passage cited is the one where Yájnavalkya explains that all things are dear only for the sake of the Átman, and ends with the statement—*idam sarvam yadayamátmá*, which the Professor, and perhaps others before him, translates 'this Átman is the entire Universe',—but the words of which really mean 'what the entire Universe is, is the Átman'; and certainly this might mean that the Universe is as real as the Átman!

The Professor is quite conscious of the difficulty of his undertaking, to prove from the older texts his view of the doctrine of Máyá being found in the Upanishads; for he says (on page 228)—"this peculiar and apparently far-fetched idea is seldom expressed in absolute simplicity, and usually appears under forms which are completely explained as an adoption of the empirical modes of knowledge which are natural to us all, and refuse to be shaken off";—that is to say, the passages he is going to put forward are more easily capable of being explained otherwise ; and yet immediately before this we have the bold assertion that "the older the texts of the Upanishads are, the more uncompromisingly and expressly do they maintain the illusory character of the world of experience".

Then again, at the very outset, (p. 228), the Professor pre-supposes the higher antiquity of those chapters of the Brihadáraṇyaka which contain the passages lending support to his view. This appears to be a begging of the whole question. He, however, does not rely upon the Upanishads alone ; he finds the first traces of the Máyá doctrine in the Rigveda itself, wherein we meet with the passage '*ekam sad vipra bahudhá vadanti*'. But it can be easily seen that what this passage means is that all things are emanations from the *one thing* ; it says nothing as to the unreal or illusory character of these emanations. All the other passages also that he quotes in this paragraph point to the same idea, that *all that we see is an emanation from the one*,—whatever this may mean.

The passage next quoted is the beautiful parting exhortation by Yájnavalkya to his wife Maitréyí :—"In truth, not for the husband's sake is the husband dear, but for the self's sake is the husband dear, &c., &c." This whole passage is explained as meaning that, "all objects and relations of the Universe exist for us, and are known and loved by us, only in so far as they enter into our consciousness, which comprehends in itself all the objects of the Universe, and has nothing outside of itself". The more prosaic reader, however, will find in the passage nothing more than the bare statement of the hard worldly fact that in all our relations we are guided by mere selfishness—the brother is loved, not because there is anything intrinsically loveable in him, but because he conduces to our pleasure and well-being. But even the reader, who would not be profane enough to read such a meaning in the solemn exhortation of a husband who is going to retire into the solitude of forests for purposes of religious meditation, would, I suppose, be content with taking it to mean simply that all things and relations are only so many manifestations of the self—the self is the root of all ; but the fact of the root being real does not make the tree with its branches unreal or illusory ; and there is nothing in the passage that would warrant the idealistic conception that things are *known* and loved by us only so far as they enter into our consciousness. But even if it did, it would be a mere truism,—it does not need much of an exhortation to see that things are known and loved only in so far as they enter into our consciousness ; in fact being *known* and *entering into consciousness* are synonymous terms; and there need be nothing very philosophical in this.

The passage goes on to say—"He who has known the self, by him this entire Universe is known;" and this also means nothing more than that the self is the root of all things, in it are all things contained; and from this it might follow that the things are as real as the self itself!

Even the well-known passage '*neha nánásti*', 'there is no plurality', only means that all things are so many manifestations,—and not independent entities—of the One Thing, the self. This same remark would apply to the discussion started in the *Mundaka Upanishad*, with the question—"what is that, with the knowledge of which the entire Universe becomes known"? In fact, if "this entire Universe" were illusory, the knowing of the *real* self could never make it *known*.

It is rather painful to differ from the learned writer at every little point in this connection. But one cannot fail to be struck by the manner in which he makes the standpoint of the Yájnavalkya view comprise the proposition "the Átman is unknowable,"—in face of the passage—"the self in truth we should *comprehend*, should reflect upon, &c., &c."—out of which he has made a great capital on page 231.

This part of his work the author sums up thus (pp. 237—39):—

> "In this way is originated a series of conceptions which............remodel the original idealism into the theories of pantheism, cosmogonism, theism, atheism and deism. (1) Idealism: The A'tman is the sole reality...............(2) Pantheism: The Universe is real, and yet the A'tman is the sole reality; for the A'tman is the entire Universe. (3) Cosmogonism: A'tman as cause produces the Universe. (4) Theism: the Creator-A'tman is distinct from the A'tman ensouling the creation. (5) Atheism: the power of bringing the Universe into existence belongs to Matter. (6) Deism: a personal god added to the above, without altering the main principles, not as creator, but only as an object of worship."

It may be noted here that the last three stages in the above represent respectively, the Nyáya, the Sánkhya and the Yoga views.

Having explained the conception of the Upanishads in its relation to philosophy, the author takes it up in its relation to religion (p. 44). Like a devout Kantian he lays down the following as "necessary premises of all religion":—(1) *The Existence of God*; (2) *the Immorality of the soul*; (3) *the Freedom of the will*; and like the thorough-going *Máyávádin*, he proceeds to show, with doubtful logic that all "these essential conditions of man's salvation are conceivable only if the Universe is a mere appearance and not a reality; and they break down irretrievably should this empirical reality be found to constitute the true essence of things."

We fail to see how the "Existence of God will be precluded" by that of Infinite Space. The theistic God is Infinite; and one Infinite need not preclude another Infinite; as those who regard Space as infinite regard Time also to be so. Nor is it easy to see how immorality is precluded by the conditions of Time. The reality of Time does not mean that everything *must* have a beginning in Time; of course our existence in the world has had a beginning and will have an end; but our existence *as A'tman* has had no beginning in Time, nor will it have an end; it is co-eternal and co-infinite with Time, and also with Space. If these entities were gross and material, then alone would such co-existence be impossible. Nor lastly can it be seen how 'freedom' becomes precluded by the universal validity of the Law of Causality. Of course our actions are the effect of our effort or will, which, it is true, is the effect of something preceding it; but this something ultimately comes to be some act done by us in our previous life on Earth; and so on and on. Such an infinite regress is the favourite resource of the Vedánta of which the Professor is a devoted votary.

> "The Upanishads", we are told (on p. 46), "are for the Veda what the New Testament is for the Bible; and this analogy is based upon a universal law of development of religious life......................Both the Old Testament and the Karmakánda of the Veda proclaim a law, and hold out the prospect of reward for its observance and of punishment for its transgression."

So far so good; but the Professor is not quite accurate when he adds:—

> "It is the distinguishing characteristic of the Biblical law of righteousness that it pays less regard than the Indian to ritual prescriptions, and in their place lays greater stress on a habitually blameless course of life."

The Veda, as we know, does not lose sight of purity of conduct; in fact it is more logical,—proclaiming over and over again that each act of the man, ritual, social, moral, &c., bears its own distinct fruit; nothing is lost; none is more or less important than the other.

While further explaining the analogy between the New Testament and the Upanishads, the Professor remarks:—

> "So long as his own well-being lies before him as the ultimate aim, either (act) is simply a means to his selfish end, and therefore, like the end itself, from a moral point of view is to be set aside as worthless." (Page 48).

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the Upanishads do not altogether 'reject works'; all that they mean is that 'works' are not enough for the man's salvation; not that they are worthless: they have their place, in the evolutionary process.

This section concludes with the words—

> "The New Testament and the Upanishads, these two noblest products of the religious consciousness of mankind, are found, when we sound their deeper meaning, to be nowhere in irreconcilable contradiction, but in a manner the most attractive, serve to elucidate and complete one another."

To this we do not take exception; as it is our firm conviction that it is not only between the New Testament and the Upanishads, but among the basic books of all religions, that there is no real "irreconcilable contradiction."

We have seen above that the Professor has divided his subject-matter into four main heads—(1) THEOLOGY: the doctrine of Brahman as the first principle of all things; (2) COSMOLOGY: the doctrine of the evolution of this principle to form the Universe; (3) PSYCHOLGY: the doctrine of the entrance of Brahman as soul into the Universe evolved from him; and (4) ESCHATALOGY and ETHICS: the doctrine of the fate of the soul after death, and the manner of life which is therefore required. We may now take up each of these subjects, and see what the Professor has got to say with regard to it.

The section of Theology is divided into:—

(*a*) *The Possibility of knowing Brahman.*
(*b*) *The Search for Brahman.*
(*c*) *Symbolical Representations of Brahman.*
(*d*) *Asceticism.*
(*e*) *Other Preliminary Conditions.*
(*f*) *The standpoint of Ignorance, of Knowledge and of superior knowledge in relation to Brahman.*

With regard to (*a*) the Professor says that the Upanishads lay down the insufficiency of all Vedic knowledge with regard to the highest questions; this conclusion is based upon some passages wherein the pupil says to his teacher that even though he has studied the Rigveda, the Sáma Veda, &c. &c., he has not learnt the Átman. These passages, however, only show that a knowledge of the mere esoteric meaning of the words of the scriptures is not enough, and that for the sake of higher knowledge, the pupil seeks after esoteric instructions—'*guhyá ádés'áh*' (Chhándogya, 3-5-4). But as no esoteric instruction can be comprehended until the texts themselves had been fully studied, the study of the Veda is absolutely necessary for the knowledge of Brahman. Then again, when the Upanishads themselves form part of the Veda, they could never declare "*Vedic* knowledge" to be insufficient for what they themselves teach.

Another passage taken by the author as rejecting "Vedic knowledge" is "*tasmád bráhmaṇah pánditYam nirvidya*" which he translates as 'the Brahman having rejected learning.' '*Nirvidya*' need not mean 'having *rejected*'; it means, more literally, 'having fully learnt or known'; so what the passage means is that 'having fully learnt all the learning that is available,' &c.; and in this there is nothing in regard to the 'insufficiency of Vedic knowledge.' The Professor does not fail to recognise that the Upanishads regard external knowledge as not unnecessary but absolutely necessary as a stepping stone to higher knowledge (pages 58-59). But, as before, he regards the passages supporting this view to be of a later origin. As no reasons are assigned for this, we must attribute this to the writer's usual proneness to this convenient method.

As preparatory means to a knowledge of Brahman we have the due keeping of the four life-stages:—"The Brahmacharins endeavour to know him by sacrifice and alms-giving (in the house-holder's stage), by pennance and fasting (in the stage of the forester), and he who knows becomes a Muni (perfect renunciate)." It is rather instructing to find the Professor restricting these stages to the "Indian Brahman," while he has all along held the "knowledge" to be the earliest possession of the Kshattriyas. As a matter of fact, the four life-stages are as much for the Brahman as for the Kshattriya and the Vaiśya. Sacrifices are also spoken of as necessary in the preparatory stage. Though the Professor takes great pains to decry these, yet he cannot help admitting that "it is true that direct attacks are rarely found in the extent texts." Direct attacks there are none; and yet those passages that show "a friendly attitude towards the sacrificial cult" are at once relegated to the lumber of "later Upanishads."

Asceticism is another means to the same end. It is the next higher step to sacrifice. In this connection the Professor makes on page 66 a quotation from the Rig Veda (10—136) which is not quite intelligible in the translation. How a *Muni* who is in "dirty yellow robes" can be "girt only with the wind," we fail to understand. In the original we have the epithet "*vátaras'anáh*"; and in the occidental zeal (happily disappearing) to disregard Sáyana's interpretation, the translator evidently forgot the epithet that had gone before. As a preliminary condition asceticism is indispensable: "Without being an ascetic it is impossible either to attain the knowledge of Átman or to bring work to fruition" (page 70).

Other preliminary conditions are—(1) *Upanayana*, approaching the qualified teacher in the proper form; (2) Tranquility of mind; (3) Self-restraint; (4) Renunciation; (5) Patience, and (6) Collectedness.

With regard to the knowledge of Brahman the author says (page 74):—

> "The general view that lies at the basis of the Upanishads is that Brahman, *i.e.*, A'tman is an object of knowledge .... and the aim of all the Upanishads is to communicate this knowledge of Brahman.
>
> "Very soon however it came to be realised that this knowledge of Brahman was essentially of different nature from that which we call *knowledge* in ordinary life. For it would be possible .... to be familiar with all con-

ceiveable branches of knowlege and empirical science, and yet to find oneself in a condition of ignorance (Avidya') as regards the Brahman. This thought originally purely negative became in course of time more and more positive in its character. It was negative in so far as no experimental knowledge led to a knowledge of Brahman; and it was positive in so far as the consciousness was aroused that the knowledge of empirical reality was an actual hindrance to the knowledge of Brahman."

The author is on solid ground so far; but as in other matters so here also, he seems to have made up his mind as to Brahman being "unknowable"—a word which put forward by Herbert Spencer caught many metaphysical minds to such an extent that even Indian scholars proceeded to find in this a confirmation of their ancient belief as regards Brahman being "beyond speech and mind." This same love for correspondences seems to have cast its glamour over some stolid minds of the West also. This point is laboured with great show of force on pages 146—147. But on looking into the passages here adduced we find that all that is meant is that Brahman is not an object of empirical knowledge. When Brahman is spoken of as "incomprehensible" what is meant is that we cannot conceive it by means of empirical definitions. Even the great negation *neti neti*, "it is not so, it is not so," only denies all empirical predications with regard to Brahman. [Professor Hillebrandt has proposed a very clever interpretation of this formula as *na iti na*, "it is not that it is not."] It is difficult to conceive how the Professor, in face of the numerous passages he quotes on page 148, could hold that the Upanishads teach the unknowableness of Brahman, and yet declare, as he does for instance on page 157, that "with the *knowledge of A'tman* everything is known."

Another instance where the love for correspondences has slightly misled the learned Professor is when on pages 151 *et.seq.* he speaks of Brahman as *spaceless*, and *timeless*. What the Brihadáraṇyaka passage says is that Brahman does not *occupy space;* this is all right, as Brahman being *All-space* could not *occupy* space. Of course '*inner*' *and* '*outer*' there could be none for All-space, which also is certainly "indivisible". If, however, by "spaceless" is meant *free from limitations of space*, then we have nothing to say against it. Similarly with regard to Time. Brahman again can be spoken of as "independent of causality" only in the sense that It has no cause; if it be meant that *It is not a cause* then, how could we reconcile this with the well-known definition of Brahman as *janmadi asya yatah*, 'from which is the birth, etc., of this world." (Vedanta Sutra-1)?

After this we have some account of Brahman or A'tman as "Unity"; and in this connection the several attempts at defining it are noted and discussed until –

> gradually from the sphere of the intellectual in which differences obtain, we are led upwards through an ever-increasing blending of subject and object to a region in which all distinctions are lost in the All one." (page 94.)

In course of this the Professor, refers on page 88 to the passage where Śákalya has a discussion with Yájnavalkya by whom he is threatened with *múrdhá te vipatishyati*, 'thy head shall fall'; the Professor, with all the other interpreters of the passage, explains it as meaning the actual dropping off of the head; may it not mean the figurative *falling of the head* in disgrace?

Then follows the division of the Átman into (1) the *physical* (body), (2) the *individualised* self, and (3) the All-self. Herein lay the root of the later Vedantic conception of the three *S'aríras* or bodies: (1) the *Sthúla*, gross or Physical, (2) the *Súkshma*. subtle or Astral, and (3) the *Kárana* or causal—which subsequently developed into the five *kos'as* mentioned for the first time in the Taittiriya Upanishad: (1) the *Annamaya* 'of the physical body,' (2) the *Práṇamaya* 'of the life-breath,' (3) the *Manomaya*, 'of the mind,' (4) the *Vijnánamaya*, 'of knowledge,' and (5) the *A'nandamaya*, 'of bliss.' These are said to be so many encrustations over the Átman; that is to say, the self in course of its earthly sojourn has to be endowed with these accessories for the purpose of garnering experiences on the various planes of consciousness without which its evolution would not be complete.

The Professor next deals with the symbolic representations of Brahman, as Práṇa and Váyu, Manas and Ákáśa, Áditya, Náma, Vák, etc.—in fact all objects of worship are said to be so many symbols of Brahman. These should be regarded as being of use to those persons who cannot grasp the subtle nature of Brahman, except through something that appeals directly to the senses. A subtler symbol is described in the shape of the mystic syllable '*Om*.'

Next comes the section on the *Essential Brahman* described as *Sachchidánanda* 'being, consciousness (the Professor uses the word *mind*) and bliss'; and again, as '*Satyam Jnánam Anantam*.' This well-known formula, which has played an important part in the later development of the Vedanta is found first of all in the Taittiriya Upanishad. (2—1).

All the contradictary epithets—*Sat-asat*, *Satyam—Asatyam*, and so forth that are applied to Brahman must be regarded as referring to what we ordinarily know as *sat*, etc; because the *being* that belongs to, or rather *is*, Brahman is not what we know as "being" in ordinary experience.

While describing the consciousness-aspect of Brahman the Professor says (pages 132-133):—

> "The philosophising spirit of mankind in India, Greece, and modern times has with remarkable unanimity fallen into an error, which we can most briefly describe by the word, *intellectualism*, and which consists in the belief

that the innermost essence of man and of the Universe, call it 'Brahman,' 'first principle' or 'deity,' can bear any similarity or analogy or identity with that which we meet with here as consciousness, thought or spirit. Yet whatever judgment may be passed on the value of this conception, in any case the entire development of the Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle to the present, with few exceptions has been dominated by the thought that the nature of the soul, and in connection therewith the nature of God, is to be conceived as something related or analogous to human thought, as reason, spirit or intelligence. And in India the leading advocacy if not the earliest origination of the very same idea is attached to the name Yájnavalkya. All his views put forward in the Brihadáraṇyaka centre in the conviction that Brahman, the A'tman, is the knowing subject within us."

One fails to see why this is an "error"; all that has been said of Brahman can be comprehended only if we regard Brahman as *consciousness*; it is only this that can be *real per se*; even the most thoroughgoing denier of entities—the Vijnánavádin—could not logically deny the existence of *idea*, which is only a phase of consciousness. This alone can be all-pervading and eternal; this alone can be spoken of as "persisting without change through the states of waking, dreaming, deep sleep, etc., etc." (Brihadáraṇyaka, 9-3-4).

The chief passage dealing with Brahman as *ánanda* is the *A'nandavallí* of the Taittiríya Upanishad. Brahman is not *blissful*, but the very essence of *bliss* itself.

Section 5 deals with Brahman and the Universe.

> "Brahman is the A'tman; the 'self' is that in men and in all the objects of the Universe which remains over when we abstract from them every thing in them that is not self, alien or different. There is, however in the whole Universe, alike in Heaven or on earth, nothing besides the A'tman."

Whenever the Upanishads speak of anything other than the A'tman, they generally add the qualification '*as it were*,' which means that all such things are to be regarded as real only from the standpoint of empirical realism. The Professor goes on to point out that a contradiction was introduced into the Upanishad teaching when the natural leaning of men towards realism made them loose sight of the fundamental reality of the self alone. It is in this that the Professor finds the root of the realistic position of the *Sánkhya*. He regards this as a *later development*; but does not give any reasons why we should regard the so-called realistic passages of the Upanishads to be of later origin,—except that they must be so regarded because of their contradicting the "original standpoint of the Vedánta". When making these sweeping assertions, the Professor looses sight of the fact that the Upanishads do not constitute a single systematic treatise devoted to the elaboration of any one theory or idea; the oldest among them represent only the several phases of the process of mental evolution through which the Indians of old were passing; and hence there is nothing incongruous in their putting forward the most direct assertion of rampant Realism or even Materialism, side by side with the most high-flown Idealism; and we shall not be justified in regarding either the one or the other set of passages as of "later origin." In fact, the Professor himself recognises this fact when on page 159 he divides the problem of the relation of the first principle of things to created nature into the four stages of—(1) Realism, (Matter exists independently of that principle from enternity); (2) Theisim (that principle, God, creates the Universe out of nothing and thenceforward the latter has an independent existence); (3) Pantheism (God creates the Universe by transforming himself into the Universe); and (4) Idealism (God alone and nothing besides Him is real);—and then goes on to say (page 161):—

> "All these stages are represented in the teaching of the Upanishads; and thus it presents a very varied colouring of Idealistic, Pantheistic or Theistic shades without becoming contradictory in the proper sense of the term".

The relation of Brahman to his evolution as the Universe is to be regarded as *identity*; and the description of the entrance of the self into the Universe which it has created is merely a metaphor designed to render intelligible this identity. But the Professor regards this as a mere make-shift; for he says (page 163):—

> "There is still a broad distinction between the one Brahman and the multiplicity of his appearences; nor were ancient thinkers or indee dany thinkers before Kant able to rise to the conception that the entire unfolding in space and time was a merely subjective phenomenon".

If this be true, what shall we say of the *Vijnánaváda* of the Buddhist schools which is the most thorough-going idealism imaginable?

The existence of the Vedic Gods, Indra, Agni, etc., is not denied by the Upanishads; but they are regarded as created or evolved by Brahman, just as all other things are evolved; from Brahman proceed, like sparks from fire, all worlds, all beings.

Here we close our study of the first part dealing with the *Theology* of the Upanishads. The second part begins with Cosmology of the Upanishads, the study of which we reserve for some future occasion.

DISCUSSION.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue of the review. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—ED.

The Methods of Soical Reform: A contributory remark.

I have read with interest the able articles on the subject of Social Reform that have recently appeared in the *Hindustan Review*, in which many talented writers have reviewed the various lines of social reform, to which men recognised as leaders of Indian Society stand committed. I am not going to enter into the merit or demerit of the various opinions expressed by the social reformers. But I do think that I should express my point of view on the subject, and as I happen to be a Christian, I shall take the Christian standpoint, yet it will be a conciliatory standpoint. I plead indulgence for encroaching thus on the sacred ground occupied by the able social reformers of the Indian Society.

I am in entire accord with those reformers who aim at and emphasize the conservation of social forces on the line of a vital connection with the past. The onward course of progress must keep pace with the hereditary instincts and traditions which gave us birth and which we inherit. We certainly cannot, without doing violence to our nature, cut asunder the sheet anchors of the past. We have inherited natural virtues; certain moral traits, certain intellectual capacities, poetic instincts and religious sentiments which buried though, some of them, may be among the stowed away lumber of forgotten things, yet we should strive to preserve them by removing the dust from old sanctuaries of life and memory until we light upon mementoes of vital and startling interest to us all.

I wish the readers of this review to understand that though I speak as a Christian, yet I do not on that ground isolate myself from the Indian community. I am yet an Indian of the Indians for I claim from the natural side of ancestry a pure and simple Hindu pedigree, and, therefore, I believe that my moral and intellectual bend and propensities, my religiousness, zeal and earnestness if any, proceed from the original source of my Indian birth, from my ancestral forefathers, the Rishis. I am the last man to decry the past and suggest any violent cutting away from its moorings. I believe the future literature of India would draw largely, as time goes on, from the literature of the past. The historic resources of the past will ever remain the stay and consolation of the future generations of India, and its poetry, literature and philosophy will often form, sustain and cheer them in the way. I have often thought that perhaps Japan's present rapid advance in civilisation is like the sudden flash of a meteor, there is danger lest in her too eager a copying of the West she might be undoing her past, which might leave her when reaction set in in a worse plight than before; or it may be that she is so happily situated and occupies such a vantage ground and unique position that her contact with the West has adjusted matters so as to throw the western shadow of influences on the background only to bring out in relief her traditional instincts.

Destruction and construction must proceed together, but the putting away of social evils is not like the putting down of an edifice involving its wholesale destruction; it is rather like the weeding out of tares and leaving the wheat to grow, so that we may have a Society which, like what Lord Macaulay said of the English Society, 'unites resolution with prescription, progress with stability, the energy of youth with the majesty of immemorial antiquity.'

I have premised thus far and now plunge into *res media.*

I believe that Christianity has a claim to be heard from the platform of Indian Social reform movement. It comes as a spirit of life, and I believe if you admit it once into the Indian social tree, the latter will put forth healing leaves and bear healthgiving fruits. Take the four schools of reform classified by the writers in this review as follows: The school of Coercion; The school of Interpretation; The school of Isolation; The school of Conscience.

Take the standpoint of Coercion. Christianity stands for liberty and conscience, it respects the private right of judgment. It does not impose a model, it emphasizes life and growth from within. It teaches that once let man's true relationship be established with God, and from thence will issue forth springs of living water to fertilize our human fellowship and our family and social ties.

Take the standpoint of Conscience. Christianity appeals in words that cannot be mistaken that the strong must support and stand by the weak; nay, its founder exemplifies it in his life and thus appeals by practical action. He befriends the fallen and stands by the down-trodden. He lifts and elevates humanity and dignifies the low conditions of life by championing the weak and himself taking the form of the lowliest among men. When we consider the hard and fast lines by which classes are divided in India, when we regard the grovelling state of the low castes in India which an awakened conscience in the past would certainly not have allowed to come to pass, and when we observe even now our culpable negligence in never entering a protest against this violence to our fellow-beings, what precept or moral suasion of any kind could appeal forcibly to our conscience than the word and life of Christ. Let a Hindu act up to the precept and example of Christ. He certainly would not be denationalised in doing so. A thousand times no, on the contrary the exhibited life of Christ will bring his latent virtues, suppressed now under the pressure and force of custom, into prominence and the Christlike action will take the place of mere wish or thought and the example set forth will bestir others to follow on the line of co-operation until the latent virtues of a nation coming into play with native vigor, will wipe off in proportion its social evils. But ah! I hear one of the school of interpretation say, *this precept is found in our own scriptures only it was not rightly understood before*; very well, I welcome this truth of our Indian Scriptures and the outcome of this should be that we are drawn together as friends and brothers, our experience should be like that of the evangelist who said, 'As I was going to the hills, early one misty morning, I saw something moving on a mountain side so strange looking that I took it for a monster. When I came nearer to it I found it was a man, when I came up to him I found he was my brother.' Let you and I act up to it in our lines and the present mist of prejudice which makes us appear to each other as strangers and monsters will disappear until we meet to find each other with warm clasped hands of love as brothers indeed.

Take again the problem of the social status of women in India. I am not one of those who run down the women of India. I believe the daughters of India are no whit behind their English sisters of the West in grace and modesty and in dignity and chastity, and perhaps in devotion and fidelity they have but few equals in Europe. But still I say that her position in our non-Christian Indian Society is not what it should be. She is the helpmeet and companion of man and being the weaker vessel deserves support and honour at our hands. We should educate ourselves with a view to come up to that higher plane from which we may learn to look upon the fair sex from a refined and exalted point of view. Christ was often the guest of Mary and Martha and their brother Lazarus. He mixed with them in company and in talking with them on things of heaven, he showed by his example that he honoured woman and regarded her not as a slave to be shut in, and intended for the passionate indulgence of man, but as man's companion to be brought into prominence as a jewel and ornament in the homelife of her people, or as her husband's helpmeet in all that pertains to his well-being and honour. A man is best seen at the family hearth of his own home. Without, he wears an artificial aspect, his best lies covered within the outer-folds of conventionalities. It is only at home that he throws off constraint and appears as he is in his naturalness; but the best set off to his naturalness is the cultivated woman by his side. The home is better for the finishing touch of the feminine delicacy in adorning it, it is the more enlivened and cheerful when her quick and clear discernment supplies the needful, it is orderly and well behaved when she graces the company, and man is seen at his best when she is present. Christ showed deference to the pure, bright and genial homelife of a Lazarus and his sisters. Apply this in life. Would a Hindu become the less Hindu, should he honour woman as Christ did? I honour the purdah institution of India, but I honour it as a type setting forth something real and higher which is yet to be bodied forth in the higher lives of the women of India. In a drama, which I hope may some day see the light of day, among other characters a Sardarni is represented. She has done away with the purdah, but meets with the following objection from her husband the Sardar, who says:—

> "To break with purdah with those
> Who observe not purdah
> Falls in with fitness of things
> But I detest purdah lifting
> To become object of gaze and sneer."

To which the Sardarni replies:—

> "With us purdah shadows forth
> Something higher and substantial,
> It typifies grace and modesty,
> But, to reach its goal, should not a bud bloom?
> An egg burst its shell, meet new conditions?
> Should not then a woman on India's soil
> Change type for substance to fulfil her sphere?
> Man may gaze and jeer a thousand times
> They'll read in us nought but thoughts sublime
> Until the tone of jeer will change into that of deep respect."

Christianity comes as a spirit of life in our midst. It is a gospel of hope, a gospel of help and a gospel of healing. It isolates us from the proud and presumptuous—it separates us from the unscrupulous worldlings—it makes us shun the company of the covetous, adulterers and whoremongers, but it establishes brotherhood with all men, it welcomes truth from whatsoever quarter it comes. It pays to Cæsar Cæsar's dues, it gives to God what is His due—it stoops down to the lowest and the furthest off, and embraces in its fold the low and the high into closest bond of fellowship and brotherhood by emphasizing in emblematic truth that 'We are one body and severally members one of another.'

H. GOLAKNATH (Rev.).

LAST MONTH.

TO the wise and sober statesman—not merely the administrator but also the popular leader of men—the present political outlook in India presents questions for serious consideration. The labour problem, for instance, has been assuming proportions unknown before in the history of the country. We had certainly heard and read of strikes, but there never was a period of which it could be said that strikes were the order of the day. True it is that the people who struck work have not always succeeded in achieving their objects, notably illustrated in the case of the Bombay post peons, but the whole problem has assumed an important aspect not only because the strikes have been better organised, but also because the workmen have begun to realize that they are as essential to the capitalist as he is to them and have also begun to follow the leadership of men of education ; workmen's *unions* and *associations* have begun to be started, and there are clear indications that the workmen are beginning to recognise the importance of corporate and organised action. Labour and Capital have everywhere and always been opposed to each other, and the large capitalist enjoys an undue advantage over workmen, more specially when the latter cannot put forward any organised effort to better their position in relation to their wealthy and powerful employers. Not to go so far as to the indentured labour of the coolies in Assam, the difference in treatment which some of the Railways have accorded to the strikers or the would-be strikers on their lines affords a clear illustration of our statement. While the East Indian Railway, an old and well-established Company, has not readily listened to the grievances of the strikers—although it is evident from the various newspaper accounts of the strike that possibly it will not be able to do so for any long period now—the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, a comparatively new Company, has lent a willing year to the representation of its employés. The labour problem has to be handled in a wise and sober manner. The popular leaders have to be very careful so that they may not lead the people, who have now begun to look up to them for help and guidance, into states and conditions of life which instead of improving and bettering their condition may cause further and greater misery to these poor people. To become a popular leader, in the true sense of the word, is not an easy pastime; it requires an amount of foresight which not every man can claim to possess. In India, at the present moment specially, the leaders have indeed a difficult task, for, the workmen who are only just beginning to follow the men of education, if once they realize that the result of recognising and following such leadership is merely to court greater distress, will fight shy of any organised effort, and it will be ages again before they will be prepared to acknowledge these men of education as their friends and listen to their advice. The leaders therefore have to move and act with great circumspection. For if the workmen's movement is properly organised and wisely led it will be an important political factor, as indeed it has already become in some other countries.

But what chances are there for any successful organised effort for corporate action being taken by the people, when their leaders, those who ought to have kept their heads cool in critical moments, to have buried slight personal differences, and the sorest bane of all co-operation, personal *jealousies*, for the greater good of the people, are themselves divided not on any grounds of principle, but simply because one is jealous of the name or reputation which the other has acquired or is acquiring for himself. If this sad state of things continues, and there does not seem to be any likelihood of these petty and mean disputes ever ceasing, we must bid good bye to all reform. A house divided against itself has absolutely no chance of contending with any hope of success against another, be it a sanguinary battle or a mere constitutional struggle for freedom and liberty. That the people have begun to have faith in their leaders was clearly shown in the course of the recent kidnapping scare at Calcutta when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, the uncrowned King of Bengal, rescued Mr. Wright, of the firm of Messrs. Ralli Bros., from the hands of the infuriated mob, who, but for the talismanic effect which Mr. Banerji's name and presence produced on their minds, would have done greater harm to Mr. Wright, than they actually did. It must also be fresh in the memories of our readers how the assurance given to the people by some of the popular leaders that there were no kidnappers abroad, quieted down the scare which was assuming gigantic proportions. The extraordinary degree of self-control which the people are capable of exercising under the most trying and provoking circumstances, under proper leadership, was unmistakably exemplified very recently at Jamalpore. It is really remarkable that the workmen whose temper had already been roused should have behaved in that orderly and quiet manner without showing the least sign or indication of their taking the law into their own hands when a number of Imperial Anglo-Indian employés of the East Indian Railway were giving an exhibition of the devil's dance, on the platform where the meeting of the People's Union was taking place. It must indeed have been a rare sight and worth any man's while to have witnessed the spectacle. These as well as other incidents in connection with the Swadeshi movement, afford lessons which both the government and the educated Indian community should not easily forget. The former would always be acting with great wisdom and sagacity if instead of at once rushing in to introduce harsh and repressive measures it took the leaders of the people into its confidence, and the later would be acting in a manner conducive to the true interests of the people and the country if they tried to hold in check and direct in the right channel the dormant energies of the people. Misunderstanding between the government and the people is a serious evil, and it is the height of wisdom for both the government and the people to avoid this evil as much as possible.

We have spoken of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji as the uncrowned King of Bengal. This reminds us, as it will no doubt remind our readers, of the great fuss that is being made of the ceremony, magniloquently styled the coronation ceremony, performed at a private house in Calcutta, in which a number of Pandits, learned in Sanskrit lore, blessed Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji and his work, and as a part of their blessing and benediction offered him a chaplet and a garland of flowers. The whole affair as far as this "crowning" is concerned was as innocent as anything could be. But such an undue importance has been attached to it and such capital made out of it by our Anglo-Indian, and, we are sorry to observe, even by some of our Indian contemporaries, that one really wonders what we are coming to. Our old and ever-kind friend the *Pioneer* was not slow to raise the alarm of the British Empire being in danger. But we have not much fault to find with our Anglo-Indian friends, for we consider that if they did not do such things their occupation perhaps might be gone, and it would really be foolish to regard seriously the antics of a person or persons who seem to have lost the balance of their mind. We remember the story of a demented fool who when he was told that the crow was flying away with one of his ears ran after the bird without first ascertaining if he really had lost his auditory apparatus. Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries are in no better plight. The alarm raised at the discovery (?) of the Secret Golden Bengal Society is an instance in point. One thing more, the *Pioneer* unconsciously has given expression to its own treacherous and vindictive sentiments when it talked of the British *tiger* instead of the British Lion. Truth is out at last, and we know what weight to attach to the angry vapourings of our contemporary.

The "crowning" ceremony may have been a little indiscreet. That we will admit. But what shall we say of the following passage which we come across in the course of a comment which a Calcutta contemporary of ours has to make on that ceremony. Says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* :—

> Babu Surendra Nath took the credit for having done all the good works which others did. The Barisal affair made him a national hero, yet the real heroes kept themselves in the back ground, and allowed him to enjoy the fruits of their self sacrifice and fearless independence. However, nobody grudged him this appropriation of the rewards due to others; and rightly or wrongly, he came to occupy the front position since the new spirit was evoked in Bengal. He came to be regarded, even by the authorities, as the only general in the country, though there are hundreds of earnest workers like him, many of them far more self-sacrificing than he.

Let us admit that Babu Surendra Nath Banerji did deprive others of their true glory. But why this heart-burning on the part of these others? Why are they jealous of the position that Mr. Banerji has acquired? They are "more-sacrificing than he" but why again this exhibition of temper because "these self-sacrificing selves" have not been recognised? Pray do not indulge in these bickerings of the heart, altogether unbecoming a real hero, unworthy of a true patriot and worthy only of a disappointed self-seeker. Example, it is said, is better than precept, and it were best to remember "that the true patriot must sacrifice self for the common good". It is a real pity that instead of contending amongst themselves as to who does the greatest good to the people the leaders should fall foul of each other and fight not for any substantial reality but for a shadowy unreality. Peace! let there be peace, and ye leaders and makers of Modern Bengal, who are the observed of all observers at the present moment, let it not be said of thee "you were weighed in the balance and found wanting." Heavy responsibility lies upon your shoulders and the coming generations of your countrymen will bless or curse you according as you discharge these responsibilities. Walk then with your eyes open to the deep and dangerous pitfalls that lie in your path, and beware lest in overlooking them you fall and in your falling drag down the country with you.

Writing then of these mean and petty jealousies and the dangers that lie scattered in the path of our friends in Bengal one is reminded perforce of the perennial source of all this trouble,—trouble of the people with the government, of the government with the people, and worst of all, of the people among themselves—, the running sore which along with the foul and diseased matter threatens to remove even healthy flesh and blood; we refer to the Partition of Bengal. There is no doubt that the agitation against this obnoxious measure of the government has done much good by bringing out the hitherto latent energies of the people, but it also threatens the very existence of co-operate and joint action which is so necessary to successful political agitation, by tending to destroy the bonds of union which existed among the leaders by giving rise to those foolish jealousies to which reference has already been made above. We are aware of the fact that there are at the present moment a number of people who may be described as "extremists", who are giving expression in no uncertain voice to the foolishly anti-government line of conduct they would like the country to adopt in its dealings with the powers that be. We must raise our voice of warning against the adoption of these dangerous and pernicious methods. The situation in Bengal, especially in Eastern Bengal and Assam, is a very delicate one at this critical juncture, and it behoves the people of that province not to lend a willing ear to these enemies of constitutional agitation, who fortunately for the country are only a small and insignificant band. With the resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller many of the causes that had led to the boycotting of the Lieutenant-Governor are gone and the leaders and the people in Eastern Bengal and Assam have to be very careful how they behave now, for the successful termination or otherwise of their agitation against the Partition depends on a great measure upon themselves. We can not better conclude our survey of the last month than by quoting the wise and pregnant of the *Statesman*, which truely is a *friend of India.* Writes the *Statesman* :—

> Peaceful and constitutional agitation is one thing. We have consistently defended those who have adopted this method of attaining justifiable ends, for we believe it to be beneficial to the Government and the community alike. But the propaganda which is merely unsettling and destructive is quite another matter, and cannot be too strongly condemned. Yet some of our contemporaries have not scrupled to sieze every opportunity of discrediting the older leaders and of playing into the hands of men whom they know to be disloyal and untrustworthy. The mischief that may be caused by tactics of this kind is incalculable. Happily the people of Bengal are shrewd enough to know where their real interests lie, and the conspiracy against those who have led them thus far on their journey is not likely to hoodwink many. But something should be done to signify to all concerned that the country as a whole rejects the leadership of the extremists and is resolved to follow the guidance of sane politicians.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator).*

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation).*

An Appreciation.

AMONGST the many appreciative notices that have appeared in the press of the August issue of the *Hindustan Review*, the following from the Anglo-Indian Daily of Delhi—the *Morning Post of India*—will be read with interest by our readers :—

The *Hindustan Review* for August is a very interesting number, some of the papers manifesting a quite unusual degree of research, industry and knowledge. In these particulars "Hindu Civilization, a Statement and a Rejoinder," by Mr. Har Bilas Sarda, B. A., M. R. A. S., may be cited, in which the writer traces the decay of the Hindus to centuries before the advent of the Britishers into India, and then proceeds to call testimony from a tremendous list of well-known writers as to the high pitch of perfection attained by the Hindus in art, science, literature, and indeed every other phase of human effort. "The Indian Press, its Educational Function", by Mr. S. C. Sanial, is a thoughtful paper and a vigorous plea for better journalism in India; "Animals, their Language and Instincts," by an Amateur Naturalist, is good, and the "Widow-Marriage Movement," by Mr. Chuni Lal Mukerji, should appeal to all who can get outside the benumbing influence of custom and convention. The rest of the number is equally good and, indeed, the *Hindustan Review* is a remarkable demonstration of the fine strain of intellectuality which the East produces.

Mr. Mahesh Charan.

We are glad to read in our esteemed contemporary of the *Advocate*, that it has been able to raise a sum of Rs. 1,500 to enable Mr. Mahesh Charan Sinha to pay his passage back from America. Acknowledgment is due of not only the generosity of the donors but also of the strenuous effort on the part of the *Advocate*, in which we read as follows :—

The many friends of Mr. Mahesh Charan will be glad to learn that our appeal for funds to enable him to return home has been most cordially responded to. Two gentlemen have come forward, one with Rs. 500 and the other with Rs. 1,000, to help Mr. Mahesh Charan. We have placed them both in communication with our young friend across the sea. For the present then no subscriptions need be sent in answer to our appeal. Well, this is one more instance to show how society is being leavened with the new spirit of Swadeshism which is another name for self-help and no less for co-operation among Indians.

The Kayastha Pathshala.

We regret to announce the resignation of Babu Ramananda Chatterji, M. A., of his post as the Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala, with effect from the 1st of October, 1906. Apart from the loss which the severance of his connection will entail on the Pathshala, Babu Ramananda's departure from our midst will be a grievous loss to the public life of Allahabad in particular and the United Provinces in general. During his nearly twelve years' stay amongst us, Babu Ramanada has taken an active part in all movements calculated to advance public interest and at more than one session of the Congress, we believe the citizens of Allahabad have been represented solely by the retiring Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala. Babu Ramananda's learning, erudition, educational experience, and interest in his students and the institution with which he has been so long connected, have long been known to the public of these provinces and are widely appreciated. What is not so well-known, perhaps, is the fact that Babu Ramananda Chatterji is a born journalist and might easily step from the Principal's chair into the Editor's armchair. To the *Hindustan Review*—of which in its original form of the *Kayastha Samachar* he was the first editor for one year—his loss will be very great, as he was one of our most valued contributors, though, we hope, that his separation from us need not necessarily mean cessation of his labours so far as this review is concerned. In sincerely wishing Babu Ramananda Chatterji every success in any career he may betake himself too, we venture to express the hope that he will retain his interest in Allahabad and think occasionally of his many friends and admirers whom he is leaving behind.

On the evening of the 15th instant, the students of the Kayastha Pathshala presented a farewell address to their retiring Principal, and we are indebted to a correspondent who has sent us the following account of the proceedings of the meeting :—

The hall of the Kayastha Pathshala was full to overflowing, and among those present were seen, Munshi Govind Prasad, ex-President of the Kayastha

Pathshala, (in the chair), Munshi Gokul Prasad, B. Jang Bahadur Lal, B. Haribans Sahay, B. Ishwar Saran, Professors Dhanesh Prasad, Ganganath Jha, Maheshwar Prasad, Surendra Nath Deva, Satischandra Deva and others. An address couched in excellent and respectful language was presented, and then two students recited some Urdu and Hindi couplets which they had composed for the occasion, and then followed a number of speeches from the students. Lastly, Babu Iswar Saran in a few well-chosen words gave expression to the great esteem and respect in which the citizens of Allahabad held B. Ramanand Chatterji, and the regret they felt at his approaching departure. In his reply the Principal by a reference to facts and figures proved conclusively that there was no reason to take a gloomy view of the future of the Pathshala. He spoke of the uniformly good work that the Pathshala had done, and said he was glad that he was leaving the institution in a flourishing condition. He spoke of the cordial relations that always subsisted between his pupils and himself, and exhorted his pupils not to forget the lessons which he had always been endeavouring to impress upon them, *viz.*, that they should be strong in body, pure in mind and bold in the service of their motherland, and if one could judge from the feelings expressed by the large number of students assembled, there was no doubt that they loved their Principal. What the immediate cause of the resignation was no one knows or could discover. There can be no question that B. Ramanand Chatterji had guided the affairs of the Kayastha Pathshala in an efficient manner. The demonstration held in his honour by his students, both past and present, affords more than ample proof of the popularity which Mr. Chatterji enjoyed among his pupils, and the remark of Munshi Govind Prasad, Chairman of the meeting, ex-President of the Kayastha Pathshala, that it would not be easy for the Committee of the Pathshala to find a worthy successor for their retiring Principal speaks volumes in favour of Mr. Chatterji's work as Principal. It struck us as very strange, under the circumstances, that there was not a word of regret uttered on behalf of the Pathshala Managing Committee. It had been well if the Committee had made public the cause of the resignation and freed itself from the charge of a want of tact and wise judgment which, unfortunately for the Pathshala, is slowly becoming the common talk of the public.

The "Zamana."

We are glad to learn from the July issue of the *Zamaná*—the very ably-conducted Urdoo monthly of Cawnpore—that the appeal made on its behalf by us in our issue for December last, did lead to a large circulation of this very deserving periodical and that it, by reason of this fact, is now able to keep its head fairly above water. This is gratifying to us in the extreme, as we have more than once expressed our opinion that it is, to our mind, by far and away the best Urdoo monthly, alike for the instruc-

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tive and entertaining reading matter it presents to its readers, as also for its excellent and attractive get-up. Vernacular Journalism in this country is even now in a most precarious condition. This is due both to the shortcomings of the conductors of the Journals as also to those of the reading public. Of late, however, there has been a marked improvement in some of our Vernacular publications and in none more so than in the *Zamaná* since it was reorganized some two years back by its talented and energetic editor—Munshi Daya Narayan Nigam, B. A., who fully deserves to be supported by the Urdoo-knowing section of the community in Northern India. So long as the *Zamaná* caters as well for the public taste as it has been doing of late, there can be no doubt that it will receive at the hands of the public that measure of support to which it may reasonably look forward on the score of its intrinsic merit.

The Provincial Sabha, Oudh.

We are requested to announce by Munshi Radhey Behari Lal Nigam, Secretary, Kayastha Provincial Sabha, Oudh, that the annual meeting of the said Sabha will be held at Rai Bareilly on the 24th and 25th of September, 1906. Gentlemen interested in Kayastha Reform and Progress are requested to attend the meeting.

A Donation to the Pathshala.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has sent to the President, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, a cheque for Rs. 1,250, for the foundation of a scholarship in memory of his father, the late Bakhshi Ramyad Sinha. The following is the text of the letter addressed by Mr. Sinha to the President, in which the conditions of the offer and the terms on which the scholarship is to be awarded are set forth :—

7 Elgin Road, Allahabad, 4th September, 1906.

DEAR SIR,—I am sending you herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,250 by way of donation to the funds of the Kayastha Pathshala. I desire that this sum should constitute, together with any other sum that may be paid by me hereafter, the Bakhshi Ramyad Sinha Scholarship Fund. The interest accruing from the deposit of the said sum is to be given as scholarship to a deserving

Kayastha student of the College department of the Kayastha Pathshala subject to the following conditions:—

(a) That the scholarship shall be called the Bakhshi Ramyad Sinha Scholarship.

(b) That in awarding this scholarship preference shall be given to a student coming from any of the districts of the province of Behar.

(c) That the Pathshala Committee shall select the scholar only if no one is nominated for the said scholarship by the donor.

(c) That the scholarship shall be awarded for 22 months only, to a single student provided always that it shall be discontinued if the student does not show proper and sufficient diligence in his studies.

(d) That applications for this scholarship shall be considered only every second year, except when the scholarship is discontinued under clause (d) above.

I shall feel obliged by your acknowledging receipt of the cheque and this letter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.

A Grievous Loss.

We are deeply grieved to learn the sad and premature death, at the age of 42, of Akhowry Lakshmi Narayan, B.L., a leading vakil of Gaya and President of the Gorakhpore session of the Kayastha Conference, held in December, 1904. His conduct as President, elicited the warm admiration of all and lately—only in April last—he gave proof of his being a practical reformer by taking to wife a lady of his caste who had been brought up in the Bareilly orphanage. Though comparatively speaking a junior at the bar, he had come to occupy a position in the front rank of legal practitioners. But he was not a mere lawyer as he was ever ready to devote his time and energies to the public cause. He was a staunch though unaggressive member of the Arya Samaj and his religious and social views were liberalized by his connection with that movement. In all matters his conduct was that of a thorough gentleman and he uniformly bore an exemplary character. His having been cut off in the prime of life is not only a loss to the Beharee Kayasthas but to the Kayastha community in general. We sincerely condole with the members of the deceased's family.

A Registration Manual.

The days when Sub-Registrars used to only sign their names have passed away, and now to be an efficient Sub-Registrar, one must possess a thorough knowledge of the Registration law and other enactments, and in some cases also of judicial decisions.

B. Ambika Sahai, Sub-Registrar of Azamgarh, in translating the Registration Manual, Part I, has brought out a useful compitation of Laws and Rules which leaves nothing to be desired, and has thus removed a long-felt want felt by the officers of the Registration Department and the public at large. The translation is in good idiomatic Hindustani, and at the same time fairly literal and the book is moderately priced at Rs. 2-4-0 per copy, and can be had of the author.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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